



Dudley  
Governor  
APV



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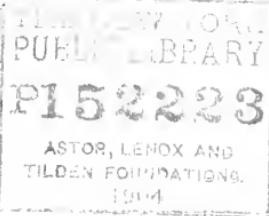
HISTORICAL PAMPHLET NUMBER 1

GOVERNOR JOSEPH DUDLEY

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## GOVERNOR JOSEPH DUDLEY.\*

Joseph Dudley was born September 23, 1647. His father, Governor Thomas Dudley, died July 31, 1653. The boy was reared by his father-in-law, Rev. Mr. Allin, of Dedham, and graduated at Harvard College in 1665. He was made a free-man in 1672. He studied theology under Increase Mather and was called to be his assistant, which he declined. It is probable that shortly afterwards he studied law, as he could not have received his later appointments without legal knowledge. Dudley landed in Boston with his commission as Governor of Massachusetts, June 11, 1702, while a salute was being fired by the Centurion, man-of-war, which had brought him across the ocean. It was the consummation of the ambitions of a lifetime. He had left his home in Roxbury in 1691, at the beginning of a self-imposed exile of ten years, at the age of forty-five. The twenty years previous he had been in office, except for twelve months while under arrest after Andros was deposed, nearly five months of which was spent in Boston gaol.

This official station had included three years' membership in Massachusetts House of Deputies; nine years in the Court of Assistants of the colony; four years' service as Massachusetts Commissioner in the Second Colonial Confederacy; eighteen months as agent of the colony in London and subsequent to the fall of Andros, short terms of office as Counsellor and Chief Justice of New York and Deputy Governor of New Jersey.

Twenty horsemen brought him to Boston from the Narraganset country, whither he had retired from the circuit on Long Island, where he was holding court when the people rose against the Andros government. He was lodged in gaol, but after thirteen weeks of confinement was released on £10,000 bonds, owing to indisposition of health, with the privilege of residing at his house in Roxbury. This was on Saturday, July 13, 1689,

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\* This oration was delivered by Mr. James E. Odlin on the occasion of the unveiling of the portrait of Governor Joseph Dudley at the State House, Boston, June 26th, 1902.

and that night a mob of two or three hundred men, under the leadership of Searle, a cooper, took Dudley from his house and brought him back; but as the keeper of the gaol refused to receive him under such circumstances, they lodged him with his brother-in-law, Page. The mob was not content, and on the following Monday resolved to reincarcerate him; they sought him at Page's house, and being refused admittance broke in the door and smashed the windows. Under the advice of Governor Bradstreet, for the sake of his family, who were secreting him, and to prevent breach of the peace, he went back to gaol voluntarily, Tuesday, July 16, accompanied by several gentlemen. No account of that day recites that, in all this turmoil so fraught with danger, he showed the slightest personal fear.

This popular discontent could not have been very deep-seated, as he returned to Roxbury about a year later (January 24, 1691) and came and went unhindered until his dismissal from office in the colony of New York. This residence covered the period of the witchcraft persecutions, and his old friend, Stoughton, now temporarily alienated, presided at the trials. Dudley seems to have left a monopoly of the support of the prosecution to Cotton Mather, although he was present in court at least once during a witchcraft trial.

That series of tragedies so merciless, cruel and stupid, injured the popular influence of both Cotton and Increase Mather, for the people would not suffer it at length, and the public mind was satisfied that great wrong had been done; but it was not yet felt to the relief of their great antagonist, as he went to England before the public excitement had subsided.

In two years his time seemed to have come, for the genial, irascible Phipps died in London. Sir Henry Ashurst, the agent of the colony, found it necessary to introduce a bill into Parliament, reversing the attainer of Leisler and Millbourne, in order to show Dudley's connection with Leisler's conviction; Ashurst thought his design had not succeeded unless Dudley had appeared before the committee to oppose it, and argue that Leisler

had been rightfully punished. However that may be, chances otherwise so fair came to blight and Dudley went on in his service of John Cutts. This alliance, offensive and defensive, with Cutts existed for nine years and a half. Although a partnership, and in the end of greatest advantage to Dudley, as through it he obtained the governorship of Massachusetts, as already referred to, yet after all, he served John Cutts. He bottled his wine ; ordered his coaches and clothing ; attended to his financial matters ; managed his politics in the Isle of Wight ; acted in his stead as governor, with the title of lieutenant-governor, and rank of colonel ; was Mayor of Newton ; member of Parliament (1700), and staked his advancement upon his patron's adventures in peace and in war. Cutts served in Ireland, notably at the battle of the Boyne, and in Flanders, winning eulogiums for his valor, and when at home clove to the throne of his sovereign.

During some years of this service Richard Steele, of *Spectator* fame, was private secretary to Cutts and some fragments of correspondence between Dudley and Steele have been preserved. Dudley himself was the master of no mean literary style — the best of all his contemporaries in New England — totally different from the crabbed and learned pedantry of Cotton Mather.

During these years he educated his son Paul at the Inner Temple, and at least one other son professionally in England, and sent home substantial savings, which he had made at his post. The letters to his wife are full of tenderness, care for his financial affairs, solicitude for his children, and trust in God.

All this while he was, with single eye, serving for place. He desired to be Governor of Massachusetts ; to be by royal appointment the successor of his father, who had been four times chosen Governor by the ultra-religious, which was also the most democratic element in the colony. Governors were now appointed by the crown and the people could not elect. While he was in New England the only pathway to that seat lay across the ocean and back. His service in London, as

agent of Massachusetts in 1681, laid open to him this path by which the place could be won. All his succeeding experience confirmed his intuition and judgment. Shrewd, unswerving and courageous was the purpose that turned his feet to the Isle of Wight, that he might win riches and power in his own Commonwealth ; that governorship attained, we have evidence that his ambition was satisfied, and that his love for his native shores restrained him from accepting advantageous offers sent to tempt him over the seas again.

We are to consider how he conducted himself in his high office ; how in the wrestle for power with the semi-Presbyters of Massachusetts he broke the back of his hierarchical opponents, one after another. They thought him wicked ; we have their estimates of his character and the record of his acts ; and if we shall find too much dissemblance and a walk at fault in some details of private life and public action, yet may we be fair enough to recognize his true worth and his services to Massachusetts.

When Joseph Dudley, who in the decade last past had been Lieutenant-Governor of the Isle of Wight, member of Parliament for Newton, and colonel in Her Majesty's forces, leaving higher honors in the old country than he was gaining in the new, came over as Governor in 1702, changes had taken place. Increase Mather, once his enemy, now his friend and later to be again his foe, had after three years' service abroad for the colony, succeeding the fall of Andros, brought back a new charter, which the colony had accepted with face awry. The ultra-church party could no longer prevent the use of the Book of Common Prayer in Boston. The Governor appointed by the crown could veto any bill, or the election of any Counsellor. He also appointed all military officers and with the consent of the Council all Judges and all court officers. The Admiralty, the post office and the woods were under the control of the officers of the crown and the hateful navigation laws were to be enforced. Within three years of the passage of any law the Queen could annul, and often did, at the very close of the term.

English law was the law of the land and appeals were allowed to the King in council. Church members no longer formed the electorate, and this may have reconciled many to the change. One great right, however, had been preserved ; the colonial taxes could only be levied by the Governor, council and representatives of the people assembled in General Court. For fifty-eight years under the first charter the people of Massachusetts had aimed at practical independence of the British crown and had maintained it. True, they had taxed non-freemen ; had conducted public business by representatives ; inflicted capital punishment ; created courts of justice and proved wills without authority to do any of these acts under their instrument of government. But they had organized a State suitable for civilized men ; had granted on the whole justice to all before the law ; had upheld the morals of the New Testament ; fostered learning ; subdued the wilderness and attained prosperity. Whatever the faults of the governing class in Massachusetts, numbering at this time one-fifth of the adult males, they had produced out of their immigrants a better, more prosperous and happier people than elsewhere spoke the English tongue. They removed their corporation, without right, from England at the suggestion of Winthrop, who came over to conduct the affair. They were not sticklers for legality ; they were not acting sentimentally in behalf of the natural rights of men in organizing a government, but in the divine right of some good men to eventuate the will of God in a human society. They knew there was a deposit of power over them still left in the British government. This protected them against interference from other nations. Theirs was the most audacious attempt of all modern history. Through powerful friends at home they hoped that one day they would be granted semi-independence similar to that enjoyed by Canada and Australia under the British crown in our time.

Thomas Dudley was one of the men who led that forlorn hope out of England, designing not to give a home for the oppressed, but determined to cut out of the forests a new State

which should have the essential powers of the government they had known at home, but with a people more godly, humane and prosperous. It should be a State in short that should not know drunkenness, lust, oppression, or any folly for that matter. Joseph Dudley, the son of such a father, came back from his exile on the side of the King, and was respectfully received by the public at whose hands he had suffered so many indignities. Let us not blame him too much. His political life had been spent in opposition to the popular party, that is, the ultra-church party, and he had with him, we are told, all the children of the first Governors until the time of Andros's deposition. This was not strange, because the early Governors were men of wealth drawn from the small landed gentry or their factors, and their sons sided with wealth and tradition. They were unwilling to make sacrifices in a war for independence which must terminate disastrously, especially as the patronage of peace was at their disposal.

The great cloud upon Joseph Dudley's history is the part he played in the administration of Edmund Andros. For this he can never hope to be forgiven in New England. Still we can understand his motives better than could his contemporaries. In a letter to Cotton Mather he makes the "Apologia Pro Vita Sua" for that portion of his career. It is in brief:—That when he went abroad in 1681 it was with a very sincere intention to serve and preserve the ancient charter, and he and his associates would have succeeded had not the magistrates sent a declaration that they would never submit, just as the negotiations were at a crisis. He had never been tainted with Popery, nor had he ever joined with the party of the Prince of York. He had never received a cent for, towards or concerning the dissolution of the charter. When he accepted the presidency of the council previous to the coming of Andros, rather than to incur the displeasure of the King, both the Assembly and the people had held that he had acted justifiably, and the council, under his advice, had declared that taxes ought to be levied by the Assembly of the province. When Andros

came the council yielded their authority to him, as was provided in the instrument under which they had acted, and being continued in office contrary to their expectation, took the oath to serve under Andros without opportunity for deliberation. Once in the office he opposed the grant of all lands by the council, except such as were waste, holding that they had been given jurisdiction over such; he also opposed the laws interfering with travelers. He objected to the low rates fixed for the price of corn and recommended that taxes should be levied by a full council, in which all the colonies should be represented. This statement explains much that was criticised in Dudley's career, and if he had maintained his first position in favor of colonial control of taxation, when later Andros came over and had gone out of the government, rather than submit to being overruled, he would now require no vindication. Such a course of action, however, was not so well understood then as it has come to be in these days of parliamentary government.

Dudley was uniformly polite in his correspondence. When asking Fitz John Winthrop, as the Representative of Connecticut in Queen Ann's war, to furnish troops to prevent Indian incursions on Hampden county, which served the Connecticut towns as a buffer from attack, although the argument was urgent, yet it was never threatening. Those letters seem to reflect a dignified spirit. Let no one fancy, however, that expostulation was the limit of his effort. He brought complaint against the colony of Connecticut for its laches in that time of danger and the home authorities secured a quickening of their zeal. Ashurst says he was prodding the English Quakers to bring memorials before the Lords of the Council, because of severe statutes in Connecticut against their sect, and Winthrop himself alleges Dudley was the source of the agitation maintained by Owenaco for lands taken possession of by Connecticut beyond what was allowed by the grant.

As a fighter he was both open and secret. He pursued Sir William Phipps in London and arrested him on suit, the vexation of which is thought to have caused Phipps's death. When

Cooke, one of the most considerable men in point of wealth in the colony and one of those foremost in deposing Andros, and Dudley with him, was elected to the Council, shortly after Dudley was appointed Governor, he used his veto power upon him and four others of this same ilk, though such power had never been but once resorted to in the ten years of his predecessors under the new charter. He did this year after year, but in 1708 Oakes and his fellow Representative were beaten at the polls in Boston ; and one by one his opponents were picked off from their party. A son of Samuel Sewall, in 1702, and a son of Wait Winthrop, in 1708, were married to two of his daughters. The first marriage gave him support where there was most feeling against him in the colony, and the second where a hot attempt to displace him imperilled his position, it being the only real peril he had during his governorship. Each of these alliances had a far-reaching and yet a negative influence.

Sir Henry Ashurst, the agent of the colony and in its pay, who fought Dudley bitterly before his appointment and afterwards for years, was nonplussed (1708) by the intelligence from America of the marriage of John Winthrop and Ann Dudley, and two years later Sir William Ashurst, Sir Henry's brother and successor as agent of the colony in England, also an old opponent, came to love whom he had hated.

And strangely enough, Dudley's brethren by marriage, Sewall and Winthrop, though they disliked him, could not, presumably owing to the intermarriage of their families, bring themselves to open revolt.

Sewall furnishes the most interesting study ; he had opposed Dudley while the latter was President of the council under Andros, and when, after the deposition of Andros, Dudley sought to be appointed Governor.

Once Dudley was in office and in the heyday of his power, Sewall paved the way for proposals for the hand of Dudley's daughter in marriage to his own son.

The correspondence of Sewall to members of his family has

been preserved and shows that both before and after this alliance of their houses Sewall was Dudley's enemy at heart and points to duplicity on Sewall's part.

Nevertheless, when, in 1707, charges of illegally furnishing ammunition to the French and Indians in Nova Scotia are openly made and become the basis for representations to the throne and a prayer for Dudley's removal, we find Sewall willing only to withdraw his vote given in council in the Governor's support, for technical reasons, such as that the vote should have been postponed, or that the Governor should not have been present when the matter was considered, and he is able to exonerate him of all except a connivance for the sale, by traders who went to ransom captives, of non-military articles of merchandise. And then, at length, after thirteen years largely spent in sympathizing with plots against one whom he dare not strike, in 1715, when Dudley had been removed from the governorship, note the following words :—

“ May it please Your Excellency :— I have received several sums for making bills of credit ; the last, very lately. I pray Your Excellency to accept of the enclosed as a small token of my thankfulness in that I have profited under your government. And this gives me the opportunity of thankfully acknowledging your good services done this province, which are not a few ; and the favors done myself in particular.”

Is it too much to say that by that act Sewall condoned in a degree the reprehensible conduct, similar in kind, namely, the profit which Dudley shared in if he was guilty, in the matter of illicit trading with the enemy ? In the case of Wait Winthrop, we find in the correspondence between himself and Dudley's son-in-law the same distrust. Such were the meshes in the midst of which Dudley groped his way for thirteen years of official life, until he was retired at the age of sixty-eight. But Dudley did not always make friends for the sake of friendship ; he sometimes made peace because it was a present necessity, and later to be disavowed. Randolph thought Dudley was a suitable tool, but once Dudley was in power as Presi-

dent of the Council, Randolph found Dudley was unflinching against those of his former friends' acts which he thought wrong.

In his pamphlet defence of the government of Andros, Dudley blamed Increase Mather as the leader of the popular party who destroyed the authority of Andros and his fellows. Ten years later he comes to the government, having been recommended by the younger (Cotton) Mather, which alliance of the two houses would seem to have been warranted, in that Increase Mather, after years of struggle at the Court of St. James, came home with a new charter, in principle almost as revolutionary as the government of Andros, and enjoyed somewhat the distrust of his party for yielding much as Dudley had before; that is to say, both men stood for surrendering the old charter and making the best terms under the circumstances. But it was merely a truce. When the opportunity came, Leverett was elected President (1704) of Harvard College instead of the elder Mather, and the influence of the Mathers in Massachusetts, hitherto largely undermined, was permanently broken. They lived to fight him when the general attack was made in 1708, and to blaze abroad his alleged delinquencies, ancient and modern, but for them there was no quarter and no solace in their defeat.

Queen Ann's war lasted from 1703 till 1713, and upon the new Governor rested the defence of the colonies. He flattered himself that his attempts to quiet the savages by nullifying the effects of French intrigue had succeeded, but a single twelvemonth showed how insufficient was his control. Requested by Mr. Williams, the pastor of Deerfield, to send a guard, twenty of his men were in that town on the ill-fated February 29, 1704, when the savages attacked the garrison houses, having scaled the stockades, which had been banked with the driven snow. Succor was promptly sent when the disaster became known. This frontier, it was Dudley's design to throw upon Connecticut, in the main, for its defence during this war. Connecticut languidly responded but was unwilling

to provide a force for other operations, until late in the war she assisted in some of the expeditions against Canada.

In 1703 Dudley obtained a force of one hundred Indians, principally Mohicans, and a few English, whom he kept many months. To all appeals during the early years of the war Connecticut was dumb, but she helped garrison at different times Hadley, Deerfield, Westfield, and particularly Brookfield. Partridge was in command, and many and interesting are his letters to Fitz John Winthrop stating the military situation and asking constantly for help.

One of the strangest circumstances is the controversy that was waged by Connecticut, at the same time the Indian War was being carried on, over the boundary lines of Enfield and Sudbury, etc. Turpentine was produced in these towns in considerable quantities ; this was seized and the inhabitants of Massachusetts were arrested and carried to Hartford and placed in jail. Dudley's protests are dignified but firm, and he appeals to the patriotic spirit of Winthrop not to press the controversy during the war. Dudley sometimes learned of descents about to be made through Albany. The Indians there were friendly with the English, but traded with the hostile, giving them great prices for their furs and every kind of commodity, which doubtless prolonged the war, but they often gave valuable information of proposed forays. Whether information came in this direction or from his scouts to the eastward, Dudley's method was to notify Partridge and Winthrop and their garrisons in the exposed communities, holding reinforcements ready to march in support of the town attacked. This was notably successful in beating off the enemy, as at Lancaster and Hatfield, in 1704.

Defensive work of this kind furnishes the chief claim of Dudley to the praise so fulsomely paid him by his enemies for his conduct in this war. Everywhere he was vigilant, resourceful and discriminating. True, he sometimes gave false alarms, and Winthrop resented the trouble to which Connecticut was

put in mustering minute-men to meet a rumored advance of the enemy, as shown in a letter dated May 27, 1707.

"The late alarm made by your scout (frightened with Jack in the Lanthorne) put us to a great deal of trouble and £400, and he deserves to be cashiered and punished."

Still Dudley maintained his courtesy and vigilant protection of a line of battle extending from Casco Bay through the woods to the Connecticut River and beyond. Dudley, however, never forgot to assert his right to have the Connecticut militia under the orders of his officers and under the commissions of Massachusetts wherever they were operating under his authority, and more than one reference to such matters occurs in the correspondence of the time. He did not hesitate to enlist small bodies of Indians in Connecticut to fight under him to the eastward, when he could, and to complain of the housing of refugees of the fighting age who left the towns on the frontier and moved into Connecticut to escape the dangers of the situation. He compelled people living in exposed towns to continue their residences and fight for their homes against the savages, who mysteriously swarmed upon them out of the fastnesses of the woods.

Raids were usually made in the summer, and the party starting out from Canada would break up into small bands, which would attack various towns at about the same time and rapidly retreat from the hastily recruited settlers, who were aroused to pursuit. Hardly more than two raids were attempted in any summer, and the attacks made in winter were few and peculiarly fraught with hardship and terrible loss of life. Sometimes three hundred settlers would be killed in a single season. The French seemed to expect the English would be driven out of the frontier towns through sheer terror, if not by extermination, and this resulted in the Maine settlements, except at York, Berwick, Arowsick, Kittery and Wells (1714).

Dudley saw plainly that attacks upon the seat of French power would be the most effective blows to be struck, so while

frequently sending troops into the ravaged parts and expeditions to Lake Winnipiseogee, Norridgewock and the Penobscot, he planned in 1707 an expedition against Port Royal, in which colonial troops alone were engaged and which, owing to the insubordination of the men and, perchance, the incompetence of commanders, was a pitiable failure.

The General Court, doubtless inspired by him, sent an address to the Queen, March 31, 1709, praying for aid to an expedition for the conquest of Nova Scotia and Canada. This aid was promised (although deferred) the next year, but in 1710 thirty-six vessels, partly of the royal navy, conveying four regiments of colonial troops and one regiment of royal marines, took Port Royal and with it Nova Scotia, which has since remained a part of the British empire; this, the only successful large expedition of Dudley's administration, was followed the next year by the abortive expedition against Quebec, in which the fleet was cast upon the rocks of the St. Lawrence and one thousand men were drowned. In fitting this expedition out, Dudley showed great resources in providing supplies at Boston, but his unfortunate impression of pilots may have contributed to its disastrous close, as they proved ignorant of the St. Lawrence.

"Through all his terms of office he represented to Her Majesty by all the offices proper the unspeakable benefit to the British nation to have all the North America in Her Majesty's hands." At this time such a consummation was the only hope of New England for peace, lasting and secure.

But while both parties thus worked together under Dudley's leadership in the conduct of this war, there was great friction in other matters.

Dudley asked the colony to build a fort at Pemaquid on the Penobscot River, which was in the territory called Arcadia by the French and was also claimed by the English crown. The Massachusetts people held that this was so far beyond their settlements that they should not be called upon to raise the £20,000 necessary to reestablish it, nor be taxed to maintain it. Throughout his administration, the Assembly was firm.

Neither would they help pay for the fortifications in Portsmouth,\* the cost of which was inconsiderable and which they said Portsmouth was able to bear. They also refused to grant him, or the Lieutenant-Governor, or the Judges, salaries, being jealous of the right to raise money by vote of their Legislature, as then constituted.

As one party served as a check upon the other, the more aristocratic council generally sustaining Dudley, and the House of Deputies being arrayed on the other side, we may well consider what each gave to the Commonwealth.

The popular party fostered the idea that the people of Massachusetts had a right to control the expenditures of the colony without dictation from abroad. This was guaranteed by their new charter and they held to it. It contained the germinal principle of the Revolution of 1776. If it had been yielded by the throne, we should still be under the British flag.

It also continued the Puritan influence on morals and life, which the world needed then and always will. It maintained the early New England traditions and formed the party of patriotism. On the other hand Dudley and his party contributed something of worth to posterity. They, through the interference of the crown, compelled Massachusetts to accept religious toleration, generally called freedom of conscience. They fostered the liberal spirit in the churches and joined those who would break down Puritan narrowness. They revised the charter of Harvard College and made it the conservator of liberalism in religion. They more fully established English precedent and English law, the greatest of boons for any civilization. These positions may not balance each other, but both sides have weight. Dudley's influence on the whole was beneficial to the people of his time, and his character must be admitted to have been masterful.

Dudley lived five years after his successor was appointed, it would seem in honor and not without influence on public affairs. He caught cold riding to Boston in his chariot, November 9,

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\* Dudley was also Governor of New Hampshire at this time.

1719, and died after a lingering illness, April 2, 1720. His mind failed and he wandered away to the scene of his great struggles, the Isle of Wight, but he wanted to go home and would call for his hat and sword.

They buried him with all the pomp they knew, two regiments of militia, two or three troops of horse, with the most noted men of the colony for his bearers, and all the countryside "as spectators, out of windows, and on fences and trees, like pigeons," while the bells of Boston tolled.

A newspaper printed a fulsome eulogy. A minister, the pastor of his son Paul, one of the liberals of that day, eulogized him at Thursday lecture. He slept with his father in Roxbury, and the world went on and forgot him. He is one of the enigmas of our history; religious in profession, careful in his life, he hounded Phipps to death, assisted in the condemnation of Leisler and Milbourne, dissembled, slaved, triumphed. He mastered his opportunity and overcame astonishing obstacles. He loved his king better than his country, and yet he loved the Commonwealth so well that he gave up the Chief Justiceship of New York rather than leave her, gave up place and power in the Isle of Wight and in Parliament, that he might serve her, and refused allurements back to England that he might live within her borders. How strangely he served whom he loved, and no one can doubt that in his way he was true to Massachusetts; but with all the traditions of the Commonwealth upon us, we must say his way was not the best, great as were his services.



HISTORICAL PAMPHLET NUMBER 2

GOVERNOR THOMAS DUDLEY  
IN IPSWICH

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## GOVERNOR THOMAS DUDLEY

IN IPSWICH.\*

At first thought, it may seem like banishment from congenial society and facing the bareness and hardness of Colonial life in its most forbidding form, when the sturdy Governor, retiring from that honorable office, removed his home to Ipswich. That town had been settled only two years. The life of the hardy colonists, who peopled it, combined the natural struggle with the wilderness with the exposure to the assault of cruel foes.

Hubbard tells us that there was an alarming report that the French were planning a descent from Nova Scotia, which prompted the leaders of the Colony to despatch John Winthrop, the Governor's eldest son, with his baker's dozen of adventurers, to anticipate any such settlement. Word had gone abroad of the fertile soil and the abounding fisheries, and the pinched and suffering settlers at Plymouth had sent some trusty men to view the land and report on the advisability of removal thither. The astute Frenchmen might have looked with covetous eyes on the fair fields of Agawam, so easily accessible from the sea. But whatever the likelihood of French invasion, the possibility of Indian assault was ever in mind. The scant remnant of the local tribe of the Agawams, recently scourged by the pestilence, was not a dangerous neighbor; but the fierce Tarratines of the Maine coast were accustomed to make inroads into these parts, and on one occasion, a fleet of fifty canoes, which had crept stealthily up the river, was frightened away by the cool wit of a young man working on the Island, now called "Treadwell's," who made a brave show of calling an imaginary body of settlers to arms.

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\*Delivered by Rev T. Frank Waters at The Dudley Family Association Banquet Nov. 24, 1903.

Removal to such a neighborhood in true Scriptural fashion, with his wife, his daughters and their husbands, may be thought a needless tempting of adverse fate. Happily their fears of threatening foes were never realized, and the only call to arms in those early years was in 1637, when the Pequots rose and the little band of Ipswich soldiers marched many miles away for its first conflict with the dreaded foe. And there was no more primitive living in Ipswich than in Cambridge or Boston or Salem. It was remote indeed from the seat of government, but not so far that Governor Winthrop was not able to walk down from Boston in the first autumn of the new settlement, to exercise the people and make a little visit with his son; and if the round thirty miles perhaps seemed over much for walking, the traveller could find a shallop sailing thither or betake himself to horse.

The times were heroic. Those cultured Englishmen soon learned to face the wilderness conditions bravely. Dudley's home at Cambridge was a plain affair. The fame of over elegance reached Winthrop's ears and he wrote to Dudley:

"He did not well to bestow such cost about wainscotting and adorning his house in the beginning of a plantation both in regard to the expense and the example." To which Mr. Dudley with most commendable moderation, replied—"It was for the warmth of the house and the charge was but little, being but clapboards nailed to the wall in the form of a wainscot."

But this clapboard wainscot secured scarcely more warmth than elegance, as Dudley's letter from Cambridge in 1630 assures us.

"I thought fit to commit to memory our present condition, and what hath befallen us since our arrival here, which I will do shortly after my usual manner, and must do rudely, having yet no table nor other room to write in than by the fireside upon my knee in this sharp winter, to which my family must have leave to resort, though they break good manners, and make me many times forget what I would say and say what I would not."

The Ipswich home, which was reared before the year 1635 was spent, I make bold to affirm was a better one by far than this. The Ipswich folk were a choice body of well-to-do and refined people. Samuel Symonds was planning to take up his residence there in 1637 and he wrote Winthrop describing in detail the kind of a house he wished to be built under his eye on the Argilla farm—a substantial two-story affair, with two great chimneys and glass windows of the best pattern, and its stout walls filled with clay and clapboarded. An air of homely comfort abides still with the picture of that ancient Ipswich farm house, with its generous roof, and its windows glowing with the great fires within, which our imagination easily creates.

And more helpful still is the house, which the Ipswich Historical Society prizes as its invaluable and incomparable treasure. The original house, the western end of the present edifice, was built in all likelihood before Dudley removed from Ipswich. We may sit in the very room into which the renowned Dudley came, for the excellent John Whipple, Elder of the Ipswich church was reckoned worthy associate for any citizen of the town. We may gaze into the same great fireplace that Dudley sat by and rejoiced in its leaping flames, and felt its cheering warmth, and as we taste the comfort and good cheer of that delightful room, we feel no pangs of pity for the family of Dudley in its Ipswich migration.

The gentry of Ipswich built better houses than the Cambridge people, with all their ideas about clapboard wainscot, and as Dudley was a man of comfortable purse, I feel sure that his new home on the warm southern slopes of Town Hill, sheltered by that massive bulwark, from the keen north-east storms, rejoicing in the sunny landscape that stretched away before it, was an abode of comfort and even luxury.

But creature comfort is not the only thing that Ipswich offered him. There were choice companionships that in themselves might have allured him thither. John Winthrop, Jr., the leader of the new settlement, is a winsome figure

still, a man of pleasant spirit, with mind enriched by academic study, and by unusual privileges of travel and observation. He was a young man then, full of his projects for trade and salt-works and the like, and his larger scheme of the Saybrook colony, which took him away much of the time, but he won the hearts of old and young alike, and when it was rumored that he would leave the Town to take command of the Castle in Boston Harbor, the citizens drew up a memorial of pathetic earnestness, to which they all subscribed their names.

Winthrop's young wife had died in the first year of the new residence in Ipswich, and she was laid in the old burying-ground, hard by Dudley's home. Whenever, in those after years, he was in town he went no doubt to that quiet place, and passing Dudley's door he would have found it easy to look in upon the household.

But Winthrop was a bird of passage, ever on the move. There were others of a more quiet habit. One stands out, above them all, as the man with whom Dudley may have taken sweet counsel, and yet, forsooth, their meeting may have been rather a signal for sharp badinage and the clashing of keen wits, like gleaming sword-play, or the meeting of flint and steel. Nathaniel Ward, a man of Dudley's own age, and both had passed the sixtieth year mark, is the great Ipswich citizen of that period. He had studied at the Puritan College, Emanuel of Cambridge, adopted the profession of law, become a barrister as early as 1615, travelled much, and as an incident of his visit to Heidleberg, the famous theologian Pareus had turned him to the profession of the ministry. He reckoned Sir Francis Bacon and Archbishop Usher among his friends. He came to the ministry in those stern and trying years, when Laud was persecuting the Puritan clergy, and his staunch Puritanism forbade his assent to the Articles. He refused to conform and was roughly excommunicated. His wife had died, leaving him with three children, and taking them, he forsook home and friends at the

age when a man clings to his own, and sailed for the New England beyond the ocean. Nothing reveals the grandeur of his exile for Conscience's sake more clearly than the letter which he wrote Mr. Winthrop, as Christmas drew near; praying him to send him some wheat from the vessel that had arrived.

"I entreat you" he wrote, "to do so much as to speak to him (Mr. Coddington) in my name to reserve some meale and malt and what victuals else he thinks meete, till our River be open. Our church will pay him duly for it. I am very destitute. I have not above 6 bushells of corn left and other things answerable."

Whatever the underlying motive that led Dudley to cast in his lot with the Colony of the Bay, there must have been much secret sympathy between the rich and prosperous leader and this poor soldier of Jesus Christ. They had both seen and known much of the old English life and the talk of the homeland never grew stale. Both looked at the political affairs of the new land with critical eye. Dudley was trained by office-bearing, Ward, by his career as a barrister. There was no written code of laws in the Colony and John Cotton and Nath. Ward were designated by the General Court to prepare one. Ward was the man of legal mind and he composed that "Body of Liberties" which was accepted by the Colony and has been likened to Magna Charta, as the foundation of the whole structure of American jurisprudence. That work was not laid upon him until near the close of the period, when it is commonly believed Dudley was resident in Ipswich, but there may have been many hours of deep discussion of this great subject at Dudley's home on the hill-side, or before Ward's own fireplace adorned with its notable legend, "Sobrie, juste, pie, laete."

And Ward, I often think, was a man of like temper with the Governor, as occasion required. He wrote a famous satire, "The Simple Cobler of Agawam." He railed at the fashions of the time rabidly.

"When I hear a Gentledame inquire what dress the Queen is in this week, what the nudius tertian of the Court, I look at her as the very gizzard of a trifle, the product of a quarter of a cypher, the Epitome of nothing, fitter to be kickt, if she were of a kickable substance, than either honored or humored."

"To speak moderately, I truly confess it is beyond the ken of my understanding to conceive how those women should have any true grace or valuable virtue, that have so little wit as to disfigure themselves with such exotick garbs, as not only dismantles their native lovely lustre, but transclouts them into gaunt bar-geese, ill-shapen, shotten shell-fish, Egyptian hieroglyphics, or at the best into French flirts of the pastry, which a proper English woman should scorn with her heels. It is no marvel they wear drailes on the hinder parts of their heads, having nothing as it seems in the fore-part, but a few Squirrel brains to help them frisk from one ill-favored fortune to another."

Thus this pre-Carlylean Carlyle summons the world to judgment. To Dudley too, the world often seemed out of joint.

But another man of far different temper soon came to Ipswich, a young man, only twenty-five, a fellow graduate from Emanuel, Richard Saltonstall. He was the son of Sir Richard, who came over and settled awhile at Watertown. He sprang into place and prominence at once as a Deputy to General Court, and a judge of the Ipswich Court, then as an Assistant. No sooner was he in the saddle than he ran atilt against whatever opposed him. He assailed the scheme of a life council, and in 1645 single handed and alone he lifted up his voice like a trumpet in the Great and General Court, when Capt. James Smith, master of the ship Rainbow brought into the country two negroes, kidnapped from the Guinea coast. He denounced the heinous act of stealing these poor blacks as contrary to the law of God and of the country, demanded that the officers of the ship be imprisoned, and addressed a petition signed by himself alone, praying that the slaves be returned at the public expense.

He was a man of aristocratic pretensions, as was natural, but of admirable downrightness of character, and the gray-beard ex-Governor might have found a stimulating and agreeable acquaintance in the young scion of English nobility.

John Norton came, another graduate of Emanuel, and the pre-eminent scholar of his day, equally at home in Latin and English, writer of keen polemics at the request of the General Court, when some heretical book needed conclusive answer, and in his later years a Commissioner to England in the troublous times that culminated in the loss of the Charter. Mr. Norton was a conspicuous figure from the time of his arrival in the Colony, and a man of such strong and brilliant parts that every other strong man would seek his acquaintance.

And a passing word is due to the future Deputy Governor, Samuel Symonds, who made a home in Ipswich soon after Dudley came, who was nominated at once for such offices as the Town could offer him and climbed surely upward to high political and judicial rank, a man of most lovable and winsome spirit withal.

In this brilliant group Mr. Dudley must have found an agreeable place. They were profoundly interested in political affairs. Indeed, every minister of the Colonial times was expected to be as much at home in the political arena as in the pulpit. This Ipswich group was exceptionally strong, and when some years later (1643) there was much dissent from Gov. Winthrop's attitude toward the Frenchmen, La-Tour and D'Aulnais, a protest was drawn up and handed the Governor, signed by Saltonstall, Ward and Nathaniel Rogers, John Norton, Simon Bradstreet and Rev. Ezekiel Rogers of Rowley. It was known as the Ipswich Protest, and public opinion was aroused to such degree that Winthrop failed of re-election.

A hot political ferment was easily aroused in such a community. Was this not a congenial atmosphere for the Governor?

Of his home life in Ipswich, how can we speak aright? Within a stone's throw from his door his daughter Ann, wife of young Simon Bradstreet, made her home, and within ten minutes' easy walk his other daughter, Patience, wife of Daniel Denison, dwelt in comfort in her new abode.

The Bradstreet home was a centre of light. He was of an amiable temper and those very qualities, which made it impossible for him to be an ideal Governor in the days when the issue between King and Colony was so sharply defined, and the result of the struggle was of vast significance to the young Commonwealth, made him a delightful host and husband. Ann Bradstreet, judged by her letters and her books, was an exceptionally affectionate wife and mother. During her residence in Ipswich, her children increased in number and made the mother's lot no easy experience in those primitive times. But her soul was full of music. In her father's ample library perhaps, she had found those poems of Du Bartas that roused her admiration and kindled the secret aspiration to be a poet. Despite her household cares, she began to write and she found in Ipswich a sympathetic and appreciative surrounding. No poet had yet risen on this side of the Ocean, and her verse was hailed as the inspired utterance of the Tenth Muse. Grim Nathaniel Ward, who railed so ungallantly at the female sex in his "Simple Cobler," paid her his willing tribute of admiration, and when her volume of poems was published, he wrote a poetical preface in a spirit of extravagant praise.

No finer atmosphere, no more ethereal influence, pervaded any other New England home. Into this happy circle Dudley came as father and friend. He found it, I am sure, a sanctuary of rest, a refuge from the cares and disappointments of his public life, a trysting place with choice, congenial spirits. His grandchildren's prattle, or the reading of the last poem by his daughter, afforded wise diversion, and may have soothed him as David's minstrelsy calmed his monarch's stormy soul.

Denison was a man of more robust mental frame than Bradstreet. He was a soldier and his military skill was recognized even in his young manhood. He became the captain of the Ipswich company, and because his leadership was so valuable, in later years he received an annual stipend raised by a voluntary subscription. He filled the office of Commander-in-chief of the troops of the Colony for many years. But he was also an Assistant and a useful and influential citizen in every walk of life. Even in his young manhood his character must have been strongly marked. He became the leader of the conservative party in that eventful struggle with the King, and we can believe that from his birth he was an independent, self-reliant soul, a person who thought for himself and did as he thought.

Patience Dudley, his wife, did not achieve fame. Nothing remains to tell us whether she was like or unlike her sister Ann. Perhaps the serenity of their home was conditioned somewhat upon the good wife's exercise of the virtue, which was her name, for Denison in after years was a lover of pre-eminence, and jealous of authority. But he was a keen, strong man withal, and Dudley no doubt found him a stimulating companion, and his home hospitable and pleasant.

I dwell thus upon the home life of Dudley. The simple reason is, that Ipswich was of interest to him only in this capacity. Of public office he held none during his residence. His sons-in-law took vigorous hold of the Town life. Winthrop and Saltonstall and Symonds each bore his part in the service of the public. But Dudley's name never occurs, either as member of a Committee on Trade or any of the numerous official boards. The reason may be, not that he was resentful of his failure of re-election as Governor, nor that he looked disdainfully upon Town affairs, nor felt that less dignified office was not becoming after he had held the highest. I incline to believe that he was much interested in public affairs of the greatest moment, and that he was often in Boston. These years were full of exciting events

that crowded each upon the other. Salem was the centre of the trouble with Roger Williams that culminated in his banishment, and in Salem the over-zealous Endicott cut the cross from the English ensign as a symbol of Popery. There were matters for the best minds of the Colony to consider and discuss. The Pequot War and the critical time when Mrs. Ann Hutchinson disturbed the peace of the Colony with her irrepressible courses, and the people were likely to be divided into two camps, according as they were under a covenant of grace or a covenant of works, were periods of intense moment. The fact that when the soldiery was divided into two regiments, Dudley was chosen Lieut. Col. of the Boston regiment, though still resident in Ipswich, may indicate that he was credited to that neighborhood.

Be that as it may, he seems to have been dissatisfied early with Ipswich as a permanent abiding place. The letter of the Ipswich citizens to John Winthrop, Jr. under date of June 21st, 1637 alludes to him very regretfully.

"Mr. Dudley's leaving us hath made us much more desolate and weak than we were, and if we should lose another Magistrate, it would be too great a grief to us, and breach upon us, etc."

This is earlier than his permanent removal is usually dated. In any case, his mind was inclined already to this step, and not long after, leaving his daughters in Ipswich, where Patience lived the rest of her days, and Ann, till 1644, he and his good wife left the Ipswich hill-side and made their home once more near the centre of the public life of the Bay.

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# HISTORICAL PAMPHLET NUMBER 3

## TABLET AND SKETCH

PUBLISHED BY  
THE GOVERNOR THOMAS DUDLEY FAMILY ASSOCIATION  
MAY, 1905

Dudley

AP



# A VISIT TO DUDLEY CASTLE IN 1904.

BY ELLEN DUDLEY CLARKE.

[*A Paper read at the Annual Banquet, October 25, 1904.*]

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On the 20th of last July, in company with members of my family, I visited Dudley Castle, and I shall tell you of my personal observations entirely independent of any history or guide book. We had been some time in Warwick, and had driven to Kenilworth, and other places, through the beautiful English country of Warwickshire, so identified with the Dudleys, and more especially Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. In Warwick is the Leicester Hospital, for twelve old soldiers, founded by Robert Dudley; and that with the rest of the block was built in 1582. On the outside of the building are the arms of Robert Dudley, the green lion with two tails, and the armorial bearings of many allied families, while on the inside was the blue lion with one tail. In the Beauchamp Chapel, in Warwick, are the splendid tombs, with effigies of Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and his third countess, and of his son, the "Noble Imp."

On the tomb of Ambrose was, as I thought, the green lion with two tails, but the color was much faded, and hard to distinguish. It also had the armorial bearings of his three wives, one or more of his brothers, and his parents. The fact that his mother's family name was Guilford explains the name of her unfortunate son, Guilford Dudley, and many Guilfords since.

On the tomb of Robert was the lion with two tails, but the color had perished.

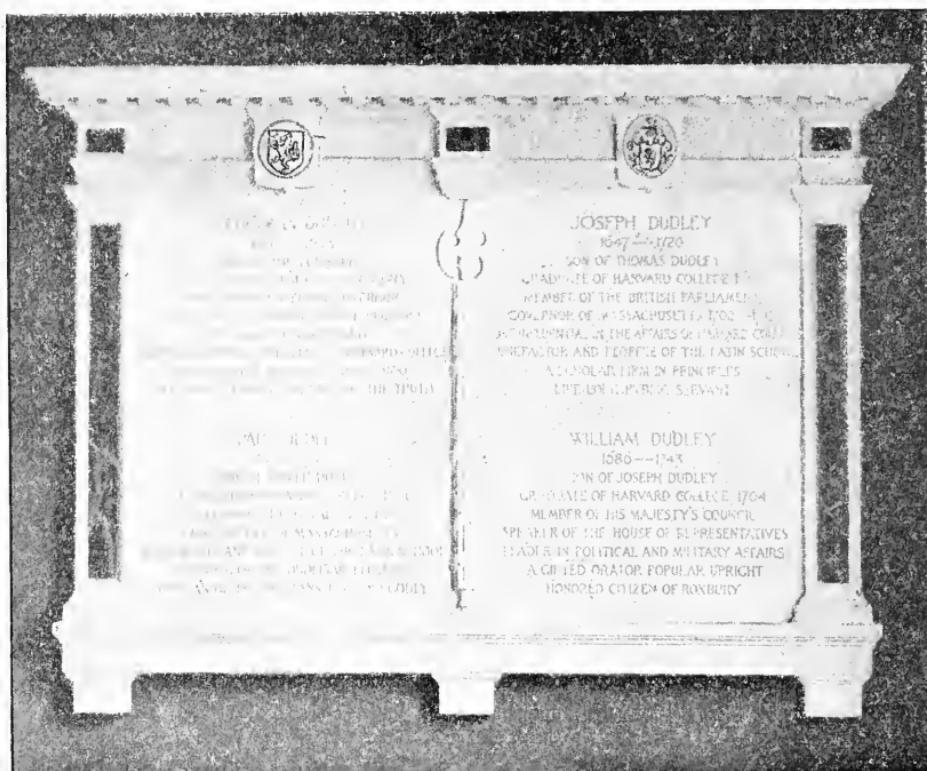
The town of Dudley lies on a branch road, not far from Birmingham, which is one of the largest and smokiest

manufacturing cities in the world. We passed through Swan Village, and from its name you might expect to see a clean and attractive place, but, as my young daughter said, it must have been named after a black swan. I expected to find Dudley a rural English town; instead it is a large manufacturing city, and that day being a half-holiday many workmen were about the streets, which seemed to emphasize the fact. The town lies in Worcestershire, while the Castle lies in Staffordshire. The Castle stands upon a hill surrounded by an extensive park, and the city is built up to its very gates. In front of the park gates stands a large statue of the late Earl of Dudley. We pass through the gates a short distance to the steep, paved driveway, which ending in steps, goes under the stone gateway of the outer courtyard. Near by in the outer wall are the remains of a large watch tower, which commanded a view of that part of the park where the natural defences were weakest. Thence we crossed the plain, ascended the hill, and passed under the triple gates, one of which retains its portcullis, and reached the inner courtyard, which comprises fully an acre, and is surrounded by the ruins of this great Castle. To the left of the entrance were the stables, and beyond these, on a lofty ledge of rock, stands the Keep. The Keep is in the best state of preservation, and by paying one penny each we ascended by a narrow, winding stairway the tower, where we had a fine view of the whole, and where you realize what a commanding situation the Castle occupied. On the top of the tower a flagstaff has been placed. Adjoining the Keep are two large cannon, which are fired on special occasions.

The present Earl of Dudley is having the ruins carefully preserved. A gang of workmen were there making repairs. Some of the walls were literally braced up with heavy timbers, and in some places new stone had been put in to prevent further ruin. This ancient Castle is built of com-

paratively small stone, which is not the case with others. The material appears to be a light gray lime stone. A very intelligent workman went about with us, and let us through the temporary wooden bars, placed at some of the entrances to prevent people from interfering with the work, or getting into possible danger. He pointed out the ancient kitchen with its two huge fireplaces, the banqueting hall, wine cellar, and other minor apartments. Fortunately, a considerable portion of the Castle wall is in fairly good condition. Not only was the inner courtyard surrounded by a broad and deep moat, but the outer one was also similarly protected. The outer wall apparently encircled the entire fortress, and the inner wall was formed by the Castle itself, both, as I have just said, formidably moated. The Priory stands on rising ground, separated from the park by a meadow crossed by a causeway, is almost a complete ruin, and is on private grounds. One of the party walked more than a mile in the park, nearly to the village of Tipton, in search of the Priory, and was surprised at the wildness of the scenery. Deep gorges and lofty precipices, in themselves most effective defences against an enemy. The Castle was much larger than that of Warwick, fully equal in size to Kenilworth in its best days, and is certainly one of the largest fortresses in England. There were well worn paths all about the Castle, seats in the park, and a tea house in the outer courtyard, which all shows there are many visitors to the Castle and grounds, but I think they belong to that vicinity, and the place is not frequented by the average tourist.

DUDLEY TABLET IN FIRST CHURCH, ROXBURY, MASS.



THE ANNUAL REPORT OF MARY LESLIE JOHNSON,  
HISTORIAN, AT BANQUET, OCT. 25, 1904.

The Dudley Memorial Tablet to our honored ancestors, which our Association has given "The First Church," in Roxbury, is at last finished and placed in the southeast corner of the edifice.

The Tablet is of white marble, framed in setting of Caen stone, inlaid on the sides with green Sienna marble. The four inscriptions, which it bears, are arranged in two columns. In the left-hand column, over which stands the seal of Thomas Dudley, is the following inscription, commemorating that Governor.

## THOMAS DUDLEY

1576—1653

One of the founders  
of the Massachusetts Bay Colony

For seventeen years Governor  
and Deputy Governor of the Province

An Eminent Magistrate

A directing mind in the affairs of Harvard College

Patron of the Roxbury Latin School

Servant of Christ, zealous for the truth

Below is a tribute to his grandson, Paul Dudley.

## PAUL DUDLEY

1675—1751

Son of Joseph Dudley

Graduate of Harvard College, 1690

Fellow of the Royal Society

Chief Justice of Massachusetts

Benefactor and feoffee of the Latin School

Founder of the Dudleian Lecture

Puritan of the Puritans, just and godly

At the head of the right-hand column stands the coat-of-arms of Joseph Dudley, elaborated from that of his father, and bearing, as does his, the lion rampant, but with the addition below of the Latin motto "*Nec gladio, nec arcu.*"

As is fitting, the inscription heading this column is commemorative of the virtues of Governor Joseph Dudley.

## JOSEPH DUDLEY

1647—1720

Son of Thomas Dudley

Graduate of Harvard College, 1663

Member of the British Parliament

Governor of Massachusetts, 1702—1715

Most influential in the affairs of Harvard College

Benefactor and feoffee of Latin School

A scholar firm in principles

Life-long public servant

The last inscription perpetuates the memory of William Dudley, a son of Governor Joseph, and is as follows.

## WILLIAM DUDLEY

1686—1743

Son of Joseph Dudley

Graduate of Harvard College, 1704

Member of His Majesty's Council

Speaker of the House of Representatives

Leader in political and military affairs

A gifted orator, popular, upright

Honored citizen of Roxbury

It was a great disappointment that the Tablet was not finished in time for the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Church, June 7, 1904, but, owing to a defect in the marble, which was not discovered in time to procure a duplicate, the Committee who had charge of placing the Tablet were obliged to postpone it till the present time. The Association has extended a vote of thanks to the Committee for this

beautiful memorial, and especially to the Misses Rumrill, who have made us so greatly their debtors by their exertions in procuring it.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THE DUDLEY FAMILY MEMORIAL TABLET  
IN THE FIRST CHURCH, IN ROXBURY.

1. The Governor Thomas Dudley Association.
2. Hon. George P. Wetmore.
3. Woodbury G. Langdon.
4. Anson Phelps Stokes.
5. Mrs. George Collord.
6. Mrs. M. A. Dudley Lewis and daughters.
7. Ellen W. Rumrill.
8. W. Prentis Parker.
9. Frank Rumrill.
10. W. S. Rumrill.
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27. Dudley Talbot.
28. Dudley Tenney.
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- 30. Arianna S. Dudley.
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- 44. Mrs. Augusta A. Dudley.
- 45. F. C. Dudley.
- 46. Mrs. Sallie C. Sears.
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95. Anna B. West.
96. Mrs. Lucretia B. Deering.
97. Mrs. Albert F. Hayden.
98. Henry D. Teetor.
99. Miss Margaret Norton.
100. Dudley, Horace and Percy Tucker.
101. Mrs. Isabel Dudley Sprague.
102. Mrs. Lucy Dudley Rumrill.
103. Mrs. George W. May.
104. Dr. Donald G. Mitchel.
105. J. H. Sears.

- 106. A. W. Childs.
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- 117. Elliot C. Kimball.
- 118. Mrs. Anna I. Adams.
- 119. Mrs. S. H. Dudley.
- 120. Howland Dudley.
- 121. Albert B. Wiggin.

HISTORICAL PAMPHLET NUMBER 4

WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING

by

J. T. S.

PUBLISHED BY  
GOVERNOR THOMAS DUDLEY FAMILY ASSOCIATION  
MAY, 1906

S. F.

Dudley



## WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.\*

UPON the walls of the First Church in Boston, which cele-  
brates its 275th anniversary next month, there has recently  
been placed a tablet in memory of Ann Bradstreet which speaks  
of her as the faithful daughter of Gov. Thomas Dudley, devoted  
wife to Gov. Simon Bradstreet, and ancestress of many illustrious  
Americans.

Among these descendants, one of the most illustrious was William Ellery Channing. He was the sixth generation from Thomas Dudley, and the fifth from Ann Bradstreet. His ancestry was in every branch of the best in the country, for his grandfather, William Ellery, was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, his father, William Channing, was a prominent lawyer, while his mother, Lucy Ellery, bequeathed to her son a quick wit and unusual integrity.

He was born in Newport, Rhode Island, in 1780, in the midst of the Revolution, and at the time that Rochambeau's army was quartered there.

The earliest description of Channing comes from an aged relative, who said: "I well remember seeing him at church when he was a boy of four, with brilliant eyes, glowing cheeks, and light brown hair, falling in curls upon his shoulders, dressed in a green velvet jacket, with ruffled collar, standing by his mother's side, on the seat of the pew, and looking around upon the congregation."

As an older boy he was full of daring energy and decision of purpose, with a tender kindness towards all living creatures and a saintly purity. Although he was a wrestler and a tumbler, and his behavior was at times boisterous, yet he was so genuinely religious that he was known among his playfellows as "The

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\*Delivered by Mr. Joseph B. Moors at The Dudley Family Association Banquet Oct. 24, 1905.

Little Minister." Not only was it his childish sport to play the preacher, and to summon his congregation to worship by the extemporized gong of a warming pan, and to deliver sermons, but his life among his companions had more influence than any of his spoken words. He was known as "the little peacemaker" and also as "King Peppin." Yet he was no goody-goody, for upon receiving a present of a dollar from a relative, instead of putting it into the bank he hunted up Washington Allston and some of his other playmates and had a regular "blow out."

Although boyhood was the only period of Channing's life in which he enjoyed good health, he always spoke of it as the least happy part of his existence. It was the conscientious idea of his parents to display no spontaneous affection for him, and the religious doctrines which were taught him were so severe that, while he believed in this alarming theology, it was impossible for him to be cheerful.

The incident that first shocked his tender mind at the hollowness of the reigning religion was his going with his father to hear a revivalist.—a preacher of terror,—whose doctrines seemed to darken the very atmosphere. To the amazement of the simple-hearted boy, his good father, instead of evincing any practical concern at such appalling tidings in regard to the next world, merely remarked to an acquaintance upon leaving church, "Sound doctrine" and then rode home whistling cheerfully, thus showing that in his heart he had no faith in what he had been told. This made the young William feel that he had been trifled with, and he received his first lesson in the worth of sincerity.

William's schooling, too, was ill-calculated to cheer a boy of his temperament. His chief memory of one of his early school mistresses was of a long stick or fishing pole, with which she could keep in touch with the remotest scholar in the room. So ~~agile~~ was this fish rod that Channing believed it to be gifted with sight and hearing. Later he went to a Mr. Rogers who used flogging as his regular means of discipline, and William had to take his turn with the rest. This infliction outraged his pride so much that he formed a life-long sentiment against this line of punishment.

As the girls at school were never flogged, Channing at this early age learned to feel the peculiar sacredness of the gentler sex, and his particular interest in femininity was aroused by a beautiful little girl whom he used to watch go dancing down the street, with her hair upon the wind, making derisive gestures at the boys who were still prisoners in the school-room. You will doubtless be astonished to learn that, when this little girl had grown to womanhood, she became Channing's wife.

At the age of twelve, Channing was sent to his uncle Henry Channing, then pastor in New London, to be fitted for college. In a little more than a year he was suddenly recalled by the death of his father. He found his mother almost beside herself with grief and anxiety, for William was the second of nine children, and the abundance with which the home had always been provided was suddenly cut off.

William felt that in order best to fulfill his mother's needs, he must acquire his education, and therefore he returned shortly to his uncle's home to resume his preparations for college.

In the autumn of 1794, he entered Harvard at the age of fourteen. At first he was regarded merely as a conscientious rather than as a brilliant scholar, and, although he always had his superiors in mathematics, his excellence in English composition and in the art of speaking were soon appreciated. The clubs which attracted him most were those which gave him the best opportunity for literary and forensic rivalry,—such as the Speaking Club, later called the Institute, the Phi Beta Kappa; the Adelphi, whose members were most of them looking toward the ministry as their profession; and the Hasty Pudding Club which originated with Channing's own class in 1795. The Porcellian, into which Channing was elected, was too frankly convivial and epicurean for his taste, so that he seldom availed himself of his membership there. The principle oration at commencement was assigned to him,—the class all approving excepting Channing himself.

Even in his senior year he had made no decision upon a profession. Medicine was at one time his plan, while his class-mates supposed that he would choose the law, but, as his college life

was ending, he appreciated to what calling he was most peculiarly well fitted. In his desire therefore, to gain the means of pursuing his theological studies, he accepted an invitation from a Mr. Randolph of Richmond to go home with him to be a tutor to his son and about a dozen neighboring boys.

Mr. Randolph was United States Marshall for Virginia, and, as his house was the centre of hospitality, Channing's letters glow with enthusiasm in describing the charming ease and freedom of the people who surrounded him. He writes:—“Could I take from the Virginian's their sensuality and their slaves, I should think them the greatest people in the world.”

During the twenty months that Channing spent at Richmond, he reduced his system so much by hard study and self denial that he never recovered his health. He formed the idea that the wants of the body should be entirely neglected for those of the mind and of the soul. Not only did he remain at his books until peep of dawn, but he went insufficiently clothed, and slept on the bare floor in a cold room. He fancied that he was curbing his animal nature as well as hardening himself, instead of which he was wantonly injuring his health. It was a sad handicap which this mistake of his youth inflicted upon him, for these twenty-one months in Richmond made him a physical wreck. He reached Newport in July, 1800, after a miserable voyage in a leaky coaling ship, the captain and crew of which were habitually drunk. On his return home he taught a young Randolph who had been sent to him from Virginia, and also some younger members of his own family.

At the age of twenty-two Channing returned to Cambridge having been appointed Regent in one of the college buildings where he was to have his room. This assured him good shelter and clothing with an abundant opportunity to carry on his theological studies. It was at this time that Dr. Palfrey, who was the Dean, described the students as being made up of mystics, skeptics and dyspeptics.

In the year of his graduation from the Divinity School, Channing preached his first sermon at Medford, taking as his text

"Gold and silver have I none, but such as I have I give unto thee."

This sermon was delivered in a manner that was unusually fervid and solemn and it attracted both the Federal Street and the Brattle Street societies. He accepted a call to the former as being the humbler of the two.

Channing's congregation, as he found it, was one representing almost no wealth or culture, but soon after he was installed, it represented more of both. In 1809 the increasing numbers compelled indeed the building of a much larger church. Channing's salary at the time of his installation was \$1200. and he was also given the use of a parsonage. To this he soon welcomed his mother and all of his younger brothers and sisters, taking for himself an attic chamber with one of his younger brothers. But he had entirely outgrown his idea that hardship was beneficial, and he entered upon his duties as a minister with so just an appreciation of his responsibilities that he felt he must husband his strength in every way. His poor health was perhaps one of the causes of his becoming at this time a recluse, devoting much time to study and to deep thought.

His pulpit manner was quiet and unassuming, with little gesture, for his words were enforced chiefly by the expression of his wonderfully brilliant eyes; those eyes seemed conversant with all hidden mysteries and together with his thin, pale cheeks made him look to his hearers almost like a visitant from another world. Although he weighed only a scant hundred pounds he seemed while delivering some of his great utterances, to expand, which gave the appearance of a much larger man. His voice was wonderful, too, for its extraordinary power of expression. Dr. Furness likened it to a huge sail, flapping about at first at random, but soon taking the wind, and swelling majestically, until when the spirit came upon him he spread his enormous canvas and launched into a wide sea of eloquence.

During the first ten years of his preaching, Channing displayed no denominational distinctions, but gradually his repugnance to the Calvinistic system increased. He struggled, however, to avoid all religious controversy, maintaining that all

Christians agreed on the important points and the questions of dogma on which they differed might well be kept in the background.

Much as Channing tried to avoid controversy, however, he could not ultimately escape the spirit of the times. In 1819 he delivered his mighty blows at Calvinism in his famous Baltimore sermon at the ordination of Jared Sparks. This was a sermon which roused many a Calvinist to a new line of thought and converted several Methodist preachers to a liberal faith. It was the strongest sermon ever preached on distinctly Unitarian lines and it was the most important contribution to the Unitarian Controversy. This sermon did more to form Unitarians into a sect than anything which had ever been spoken. This fact is particularly extraordinary, for Channing had always tried to be non-sectarian. He said nothing about what he had always called his sublime idea, the dignity of human nature and the greatness of the human soul, but in a thoroughly controversial vein, he refuted the Calvinistic doctrine step by step with such power that the echoes of his sermon rolled through all the country. Hundreds of miles from where it was preached men were heard saying, "We must form a Unitarian Church." Not to strike often but to strike hard was Channing's policy, and in this one sermon, which it took two hours to preach, he said almost all that he ever said of a controversial nature.

In 1821, the year in which Channing received his degree of Doctor of Divinity from Harvard College, he delivered the Dudleian Lecture in which he spoke the oft quoted words, "All minds are of one family" and he used as his central doctrine the worth of human nature.

Perhaps Channing was helped to feel the divine element in human nature by the varying joys and sorrows of his own domestic life. In 1814, when he was thirty-four years old, he married his first cousin Ruth Gibbs, his playmate when she was a little girl, the woman whose beauty and loveliness had won him in manhood, but to whom for a long time he never told his love because she was rich and he poor. It was not until her persistent refusals of all other suitors made it plain to him that

her regard for him was more than cousinly that he at length asked her to be his wife. Her mother had a beautiful home in Boston, spacious enough for two families, and thither soon after his marriage Channing went to live until he built a house for himself at Mt. Vernon St. In the summer he went to Oakland, the Gibbs' summer home in Portsmouth, near Newport, on the Island of Rhode Island. Two years after his marriage, his first child was born, a little girl who did not live, but in another two years another daughter came, in whom he and many others were to take great satisfaction and delight. The next year a son was born who died in early childhood, and in 1820 came his son William Francis, afterwards the inventor and sociologist.

These years of domestic changes did not, however, bring to Dr. Channing any improved health, and in the year 1822, a year's absence having been granted him, he and Mrs. Channing set out for Europe. One of the delightful features of this vacation was the pleasure which Channing took in meeting his favorite poets, Wordsworth and Coleridge. The latter wrote to Washington Allston, Channing's brother-in-law, that he had seldom met a person so interesting in conversation. Channing was much amused because Coleridge had done all the talking and his own part had merely been that of "passive bucket."

As Dr. Channing returned from this journey without having regained his health, he urged that he might have a colleague appointed.

Ezra Stiles Gannett was therefore ordained on June 30, 1824, and ministers of every sect excepting the Methodists, were invited to assist. The Unitarians are now taking their dose at being the only sect excluded from a religious gathering. Dr. Channing's trip to Europe, although it did nothing toward the improvement of his health, did much to break up the cloistered habit of his life. The distinction, too, which was thrust upon him by the Unitarian controversy; the fame achieved by his Baltimore sermon; the offer which came to him of the Dexter professorship at Harvard College; his election as President of the Unitarian Association, which was formed in 1825, all of these distinctions conspired to give him a more public character

and obliged him to think of himself as something more than a theological recluse. His health, however, prevented his accepting the Dexter professorship, or the Presidency of the American Unitarian Association.

But Dr. Channing's political interests more than all else, brought him before the world. He was a strong advocate of free trade, and an opponent even to a "tariff for revenue only." He hailed a future when every custom house should be closed from Maine to Louisiana. "The interests of human nature," he said, "require that every fetter should be broken from the intercourse of nations; that the most distant countries should exchange their products of manual or intellectual labor as freely as the members of the same community."

In no political issue was his point of view more characteristic than in the cause of anti-slavery. Although during his childhood in Newport, Channing had been surrounded by slavery, and while he was in Richmond he had learned to appreciate its evils, it was not until 1830, when on another unsuccessful quest for health, he went to the West Indies that he began to deal publicly with that question. In his dislike for controversy, and in his desire to deal fairly with every side of this great movement, he at first acquired the enmity not only of the conservatives, but of the Abolitionists. The day came, however, when the latter party realized that he was one of their wisest and stanchest supporters.

He waited and watched the issue instead of jumping blindly into the fray, and finally he published the anti-slavery pamphlet which he had commenced several years previously. This soon attained a wide circulation, and he produced gradually about a half dozen works of monumental importance on the anti-slavery question, thus bringing upon himself the abuse of most of his wealthy parishioners. With his deep love for every member of his parish, it was a great hardship for him to lose caste among them and to be passed sometimes without recognition.

In fact Dr. Channing found it harder and harder to convert his richer parishioners to a sense of right-doing at all costs, and during the last ten years of his life, he devoted much time and

energy to the poorer classes. Not only did he write and deliver addresses on temperance, self-culture, the elevation of the laboring classes, the ministry of the poor, and the claims of the prisoner, but nearly every year, he issued strong and convincing publications upon the cause of anti-slavery.

On his sixty-second birthday Dr. Channing preached for the last time in his own pulpit. Soon after he took a trip to the interior of Pennsylvania and then to the Berkshire Hills. At Lenox, on the first day of August, 1842, he made his last public speech. It was the first and only *verbal* utterance on the subject of anti-slavery, all of his previous works having been written and not spoken. There was a power and a persuasiveness about his words that must have won even the most reluctant minds, and for his public work, there could not have been a greater end. It has been called "The Swan Song" of his life.

Dr. Channing remained among the Berkshires until September, but on his way home he was obliged to pause at Bennington on account of illness. He had swallowed a poison among the Berkshire Hills, and for twenty-six days his feeble body battled with typhoid fever. During this last illness his consideration for others never failed, and to his landlord and to his housemaid he was as courteous as though they had been King and Queen. On Sunday, October second, he passed away, and his body was soon removed to Boston. The funeral service at the Federal Street Church was conducted very simply by Dr. Gannett, and few who listened to it perhaps realized then what a great man was dead.

Eulogies and tributes of all sorts were soon offered to him throughout the world. In many foreign languages his writings were translated, and ministers of many differing creeds recognized him as a leader, not of any one sect or of any narrow theology, but as a true follower of the Universal Church of Christ.

Longfellow says of him :

"The pages of thy book I read  
And as I closed each one  
My heart responding, ever said  
Servant of God, well done."



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DESCENDANTS OF  
PATIENCE DUDLEY DENISON

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S. S.

Dudley



## THE DESCENDANTS OF PATIENCE DUDLEY DENISON. \*

The Puritan on the New England shore has always been a conspicuous figure in history. He stands clearly forth not only as the exponent of a new idea in government and religion, but as a man powerful in all things. His whole bearing is one of lordly mien and command. The soil he treads upon, he treads like a King; the dusky aborigines he crushes out with the relentlessness of a fierce conqueror; the low and unruly elements, always incident to an unsettled society, he condemns and eradicates with the air of a tyrant. He builds his homes, apparently unmoved, in an atmosphere of imminent danger; he tills the field with a frown upon the harsh and foreboding aspects of Nature; he pushes his way here and there with a mind filled with the sublime consciousness of success. A spirit of dogged determination forces him irresistably on. A picturesque figure is he, and certainly one very unique.

When we portray the Puritan our imagination always pictures the *man*. It was the *man* who did the fighting, the parleying, the punishing, the governing, the building up and the tearing down. It is only now and then that we catch even a glimpse of a *woman*; but the times were stern and hard and those which tried *men's* souls. The idea of the man in the Puritan world has been kept alive by orators, statesmen, and writers during all the generations since. The idea of the woman has only now and then been brought to notice by the poet's pen or the brush of the artist. But there were women and all honor to them. The Puritan exodus would have been signally lacking in success and would have resulted in absolute failure had it not been for her presence. The women were just as truly founding a state when they were rocking the cradle and spinning the silvery flax, as were the men when on the war-trail or in the assembly-house. Aye, more:-

\* This paper was read by Albion Hale Brainard of Gardner, Mass., High School at the Gov. Thomas Dudley Family Association Banquet at Hotel Vendome, Boston, Mass., Oct. 25th, 1904, for which it was indebted to the generosity of Senator Geo. Peabody Wetmore of Rhode Island.

their gentleness and presence softened the severe things of life, and more rapidly made the hearthstone the foundation upon which a new civilization and government could be built.

“ Blessing she is; God made her so,  
And deeds of week-day holiness  
Fall from her noiseless as the snow,  
Nor hath she ever chanced to know,  
That aught were easier than to bless.”

In Ipswich town lying along a quiet street, and topping a neighboring hill is a cemetery. The Puritan, though stern, had an eye for beauty withal, for, from the crest of the slope a picture of varied enchantment is presented to the gaze. At one's feet is a vale of peace and quiet, threaded by a lazy river, and holding in its arms a dreamy town. Farther away is the blue expanse of ocean, except where the foamy waves run races with each other on the shelving sands. Still farther away beyond the emerald marshes rise the bold outlines of Agamenticus; in another direction, the coastal foothills and those bordering the Merrimac valley. Over all rests the calm and quiet of the country.

No wonder the early settlers found this an attractive as well as an accessible place for abode, and no wonder they marked out on the tree-clad slopes a plot of ground which should be their final home. Here repose the dust of many worthies; here also are some of the finest remains of monumental architecture and tracery, and some of the choicest inscriptions extant. These again testify to an æsthetic element in the Puritan mind.

At the present time only one of these remains needs claim our attention. It is a simple tomb, rectangular in shape, built of brick two feet above the ground, and covered by a heavy red slab. There is no inscription anywhere to be found; there is not even the faint outline of tracery work; no marks at all, except those left by the elements. Twenty-five years ago the sculptured ornamental corner of the stone covering could be made out, and aged persons then living could remember the inscription which was legible sixty years before. It was a simple announcement that this was the tomb of Major-General Daniel Denison, with the date of his death and his age. There used to be

also a Coat-of-Arms, but that was long since carried away to an unknown place, at an unremembered time.

There is, of course, no doubt of the identity of this burial place, and that it is the grave of the distinguished General. The General's wife was Patience Dudley but we have no record of where she lies beyond the fact that she was buried in the Old North Cemetery, Ipswich. It is to be supposed that she sleeps in the same tomb with her husband, but this is a matter of pure conjecture. So far as records go, the vault has never been opened and it is not absolutely known whose mortal parts here repose. But let us think for sentiment's sake, if for no other reason, that this is the eternal abode of the earthly remains of Patience Dudley. And as we stand by her grave on a summer's day we can pay tribute to a typical Puritan woman.

In making a study of progeny it is the logical course to trace back to the parent stock, not only for the lines of descent but to find out what sort of stuff there was in that stock and hence what blood courses through the veins of the off-shoots.

But little is known of the remarkable nature of Patience Dudley herself. If we compare her with her mother, she appears to advantage, for owing to the careless keeping of English records, it is a matter of some conjecture who the mother really was. If we compare Patience with her sister, the somewhat brilliant Anne Bradstreet, her personal endowments and intellectual qualities suffer. What we do know about her is, that she was the second daughter and third child born to Governor Thomas Dudley and his wife Dorothy, sometime and somewhere in England. We also know that Governor Thomas brought her to this country along with the rest of his family when she was a young lady, and that she married Daniel Denison at Cambridge in 1632. It was only a short time after this that circumstances led Governor Dudley, his son Rev. Samuel, Simon Bradstreet, and others to establish new homes in Ipswich. It is probable that Daniel Denison and his young bride either went with them or followed almost immediately. At all events, they seem to have been well established there with a house and land in 1635,

and from that time on, the names of both were closely connected with the town.

Patience was a woman of character and well skilled in the arts of every day life. She was a woman of affairs, for she had been a close intimate with her father and had the training which would result from being in a family where matters of state and higher things of life were discussed. This environment made her a person fitted to cope with the hardships of that early time as well as one to preside over a dignified home. Besides, she had the reliant and fighting blood of the Dudleys in her veins, and the advantage of the constant advice and example of her father.

Of her husband Daniel Denison, we are well informed, for he was a man of much prominence in the affairs of the colony, and the records are filled with reference to him. He was of good Norman stock and came over to this country with Eliot in 1631 and settled at Roxbury. The next year when he married Patience he was living in Cambridge and was on the list of the first settlers and was a church member. When he removed to Ipswich he at once became a full fledged citizen. He was nine times a deputy; he was a member of the court which tried Anne Hutchinson. He was town clerk for a series of years; a captain; an assistant; a member of the trade committee; a promoter of the Salisbury Colony. He was four times the Speaker of the General Court. He became a Sergeant-Major, and then by vote of the General Court, Major-General. With the military duties of training soldiers and erecting fortifications against the Indians came the not less important political questions involved in the attitude of Massachusetts towards her neighbors, and the French in Canada and Acadia. At a later time when the Dutch took New York in 1673 and there was great alarm lest raids should be made on the New England settlements, Denison was put in command, and secured the Bay Colony coast from successful attack. He was a consummate commander, an energetic worker, a man of his word and wise withal. His thoughts and efforts were for the general good, as his paper or book, the "Irenicon" will attest. That the people recognized the generous traits of his character is shown by the great con-

fidence they had in his sagacity, the many honors they conferred upon him, and the rewards they gave him in the form of grants of land.

Daniel Denison and Patience Dudley were two people well fitted by natural endowments and with worldly wisdom to rear a family and found a line of descent. And while the number of immediate descendants is not large, it contains much of eminence and quality, and is a line through which any one should be proud to trace his lineage back to Governor Thomas Dudley. As we come down to the present time we find many well known and honorable families connected by direct ancestry through Patience, with the second Governor of Massachusetts Bay; and all along the way are individuals more or less prominent.

Daniel and Patience Denison had four children, only two of whom, John and Elizabeth, grew to maturity—a family in striking contrast, certainly, to the fashion of the day. Both these children married well. John united himself with Martha Symonds, daughter of the Deputy-Governor, and Elizabeth married Rev. John Rogers, President of Harvard College. John Denison died when he was only thirty-one and left but two children. This is in accordance with the "Memoirs" of Simon Bradstreet but Major-General Denison in his autobiography says there was another child. Nothing is known of this child, however, and no lines of descent can be traced to it. Of the two children of record, one was Rev. John, the sixth minister of Ipswich. He was a graduate of Harvard College and married into the very respectable Saltonstall family of Haverhill. He died in 1680 when he was only twenty-four and left but one son, Col. John, who went to Harvard, graduated, and married the daughter of John Leverett, at that time President of the College, who, by the way, had married Margaret Denison Rogers, the grand-daughter of Patience. Col. John studied for the ministry, but failing health compelled him to change his plans and he became a lawyer at Ipswich. He was for a time also Librarian of Harvard College. He had two children, Col. John Jr., and a daughter Mary. He died young.

Returning to Elizabeth, the other child of Patience and Major-General Denison, we find that she married in 1660, at the age of eighteen, Rev. Dr. John Rogers, President of Harvard College, and a son of Rev. Nathaniel Rogers of Ipswich. They had six children:-Elizabeth, who married Hon. John Appleton; Margaret, who married Rev. John Leverett, already mentioned; Rev. John ; Dr. Daniel ; Rev. Nathaniel ; and Patience. Rev. John Rogers married for a second wife Martha Whittingham, who was a great-great- grand-daughter of John Calvin the reformer. They had ten children. Dr. Daniel Rogers married Sarah App'eton and the union resulted in nine children. Rev. Nathaniel Rogers married Sarah Purkiss and they had eight children. Another Nathaniel Rogers of the fourth generation had six children. The great majority of this numerous off-spring lived to maturity and in turn reared families. A remarkable exception is the case of Margaret and Pres. Leverett. They had nine children. Six died in infancy, one at eleven, one at twenty-seven, and one lived to be thirty-five and died leaving a family of nine.

It will be seen in comparing the descendants of John and Elizabeth, children of Patience, down to the fifth generation, that the Denison name practically runs out. The families were very small, the members of them in ill health and short lived. On the other hand, the descendants of Elizabeth were robust, and generally lived to middle or advanced age. The families were abnormally large and owing to a good proportion of daughters, the blood of Patience through her offspring Elizabeth rapidly disseminated by intermarriage into families of many different names. The Rogers and the Appleton come in for a prominent position. Then there are the Cutts, Holyoke, Gilman, Howard, Jarvis, Leonard, Lovering, Kingsbury, Sparhawk, Sprague, Brimmer, Inches, Sigourney, Thyng, Waldo, Watson, Wise, and others.

There are two characteristics which distinguish the early families ; one is the stand they took for education ; the other is their religious tendency. Almost all the boys went to Harvard and nearly all put their training to account in some profession. There were many preachers and some of note. In the Rogers'

family alone, in two generations there were six ministers. When one remembers how much an education made a man powerful in the old days, and how much weight the clergy carried with it simply because it was the clergy, it is easy to understand that the immediate descendants of Patience Denison filled a prominent place in their towns and in the state.

In the Appleton family the ministerial leaning was especially strong. There was Margaret, fourth generation, who married in 1725 Rev. Edward Holyoke of Marblehead, President of Harvard College. Her brother Nathaniel was a minister born and ordained at Ipswich and he married the daughter of Rev. Henry Gibbs, a quite noted divine of Watertown. John Appleton of another generation, a Harvard graduate, also married the daughter of a clergyman, the Rev. John Sparhawk of Salem. In the Rogers' family the ministerial tendency was still stronger. Tradition has it that this family was descended from Rev. John Rogers the martyr, bound and burned at the stake at Smithfield in 1555. But this, like many other traditions, has no foundation in fact. The Rev. John Rogers of Dedham, England, from whom the family we are speaking of descended, was the son of a poor but respectable shoemaker of Chelmsford. But it was good religious stock, as well as professional. Beside the President of Harvard and the six ministers before mentioned there were lawyers, doctors, merchants, and military men, all of standing and honor. One was a noted physician. He was Dr. Daniel Rogers who was born in 1667, and who died from exposure on Hampton Beach in a great storm on Dec. 1, 1722. He left five children. The son became a minister, and three daughters each married ministers. Another Rogers of a later date was interested in politics and figured in the stirring times in Boston in Bunker Hill days. This was Jeremiah, a Littleton lawyer who in 1774 removed to Boston. He was appointed commissary to the Royal troops and sailed away from Massachusetts when Howe made his adieu. He died in Halifax. He was a bright, keen fellow, but evidently his political affiliations were not of the nature to be appreciated to the fullest extent at that particular time.

The descendants of Patience Denison boast of at least one

centenarian. This was Dr. Edward Augustus Holyoke, who was born Aug. 1, 1728 and died March 31, 1829. He was the son of Rev. Edward Holyoke, President of Harvard, and Margaret Appleton Holyoke, and belonged to the fifth generation from Patience. He had an "H. C." (Harvard College) attached to his name; he married into a good Boston family and was an eminent physician. His home and practice were for many years in Salem, and his descendants have always lived there and in adjoining towns, there being a goodly number at the present time in the town of Danvers.

As one studies the Patience Dudley Denison line he is impressed with the frequency with which he meets "H. C." connected with the names of the men. There is an exception to this and the only one I have found of like nature, in the case of William McKinstry, who was a graduate of Oxford. This William McKinstry seems to have been decidedly English in his tastes, not because he preferred Oxford to Harvard, but because he was apparently a voluntary exile from his native land. He was born at Taunton, Mass., in 1762 and after graduating from the University at Oxford he remained in the vicinity and became Rector of East Gunstead and Lingfield. For how many years he continued here I do not know, but he died unmarried in this country at Concord, N. H., in 1823. As we come down to the present time there are several who claim notice in the Denison lineage. One of these is Cecil Hampden Howard, ninth generation, who was born at Brattleboro, in 1862, and now lives in Beeve, Kansas. He is a gentlemen of wide reading and scholastic attainments, and was for a series of years the most efficient Assistant Librarian of the celebrated Astor Library, New York. He is a member of the American Historical Association, of the New England Historical and Genealogical Society, of the Long Island Historical Society. He is also an author, "Brattleboro in Verse and Prose," and "Life and Public Services of General John Walcott Phelps" being his most important works. For some time past he has been a successful editor.

Another name should be noted, and that is Dr. Daniel Denison Slade in the eighth generation. Prof. Slade was at the head of the Department of Zoology in Harvard for eleven years and Assistant and lecturer for another eleven years in Agassiz Museum. He was an eminent scholar, and a man who did much for his department thirty years ago. His descent was through the Rogers family direct from Patience Denison, through her daughter Elizabeth Rogers, her son Rev. John, his son Rev. Daniel, his son Daniel Denison, his daughter Elizabeth, who married J. T. Slade, a Boston merchant. Prof. Slade had in his possession a comparatively large number of relics both of the Rogers' and the Denison families. This collection included a copy of the book written by Major-General Denison, the "Irenicon," and also his "Autobiography." Dr. Slade died in 1896, and the interesting heirlooms are held and highly prized by his children at the present time.

There is one distinguished man descended from the Patience Dudley stock who is living not far away at the present time, Senator George Peabody Wetmore of Rhode Island. He is the eighth generation from Patience through her daughter Elizabeth Denison Rogers, her son Rev. John Rogers, his son Nathaniel Rogers, his son Nathaniel Rogers, his son John Whittingham Rogers, his daughter Anstiss Derby Rogers. Anstiss married William S. Wetmore of New York and three children were born to them, one of whom is Senator Wetmore. The two others are not living.

In this Dudley line of descent Mr. Wetmore's immediate ancestors were of sterling worth. Rev. Nathaniel Rogers was an Ipswich minister, who married the widow of Col. John Denison, Mary, the daughter of President Leverett. Their son Nathaniel was a Harvard man, and he married Abigail Dodge, daughter of Col. Abraham Dodge of Revolutionary times. Their son John Whittingham Rogers, who was born at Ipswich, but afterwards lived in Jamaica Plain, married Anstiss Pickman. She came from particularly good stock. She was the daughter of Col. Benjamin Pickman of Salem who was a military and business man, and served several terms in Congress. Her

mother was the daughter of the Honorable Elias H. Derby who was widely and favorably known. He lived in Salem and was one of the famous East India merchants when the town was engaged in its extensive foreign trade. John Whittingham Rogers and Anstiss D. Pickman had six children, one of whom was Anstiss, the mother of Mr. Wetmore.

George Peabody Wetmore was born in 1846 (Aug. 2) at London, during a sojourn of his parents abroad. Although born on English soil he is far from being an Englishman, and his life has been closely identified with all that is American. Unlike the great majority of the Patience Denison descendants in being connected with Harvard, he has been connected with Yale. He was graduated from there in 1867 with the A. B. degree and on account of his successful study and life, he received the A. M. degree in '71. At the end of his college course he entered at once on the study of law at the Columbia College Law School, from which institution he was graduated in 1869 with the degree of L. L. B. In the same year he was admitted to practice at the bar in both New York and Rhode Island. He has continued his associations with Yale in various ways. He is a trustee of the Peabody Museum. He is a trustee of the Peabody Educational Fund. He was nominated a Fellow of the University in 1888 but did not accept the honor. He is a staunch supporter of Yale and has the Yale spirit to a commendable degree.

In a political way Senator Wetmore has been prominent. In 1880 and again in 1884 he was a Presidential Elector. When the representatives of France visited Rhode Island in 1881 he was a member of the State Commission to receive them and do the honors of the occasion. He has been a very active member of the State House Erection Committee, which has so recently completed the fine Capitol building at Providence. Mr. Wetmore was Governor of Rhode Island in 1885-6, and in 1886-7, and served the state with much credit as its executive officer. In 1894 he was unanimously elected to the United States Senate and he is at the present time occupying that honorable position in his second term.

Senator Wetmore has not always been successful in his

political aspirations. He was defeated for a third term for Governor in 1887, although he received a much greater number of votes then he had at either of his two previous successful elections. He was defeated on the eighth ballot for United States Senator in 1889. But these setbacks did not act as discouragements but rather as incentives to renewed and better efforts, and in the end he came off victorious. Mr. Wetmore is in the prime of life and is engaged in many of its busy cares, as well as in the enjoyment of some of its pleasures. He spends his summers mostly at Newport on his estate. He also spends some time in New York. When Congress is in session he is in Washington. Besides these places of residence, his ample wealth enables him to devote some time to recreation and travel. It would seem that he leads quite an ideal life, though it is a busy one.

No one lives in vain who leaves behind an upright posterity and transmits to it the memory of an unblemished character. Patience Dudley did both of these things. Her name is not a household word it is true, as is that of her sister, at least with those acquainted with literature; nor is she in any way prominent as her brother Rev. Samuel, or his half brother Governor Joseph. On the other hand, she was a good daughter, a true helpmate, a loving mother, and a person possessing strength and honesty of purpose which her descendants have seemed always to emulate.



HISTORICAL PAMPHLET NUMBER 6

STATEMENT OF RESEARCHES  
ON THE PARENTAGE OF  
**GOVERNOR THOMAS DUDLEY**  
MADE IN ENGLAND BY  
**GEORGE ELLSWORTH KOUES**

PUBLISHED BY  
**GOVERNOR THOMAS DUDLEY FAMILY ASSOCIATION**  
**APRIL, 1912**

S. S.

Dudley



The author wishes to thank  
the Royal Society for the award  
of a Research Studentship which  
enabled him to complete his work  
at the British Museum. He also  
wishes to thank the Director and  
the Curators of the Department of  
Numismatics for their help and  
encouragement.

## GOVERNOR THOMAS DUDLEY.

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Cotton Mather states that Gov. Thomas Dudley was the son of Captain Roger Dudley, who "was slain in the wars," and he also says that he was born in Northampton in 1574. As Dudley's tombstone in Roxbury shows that he was only 76 when he died July 31, 1653, the inference is that he was born in 1576 or 77. The parish registers at Northampton have been searched in vain for the record of Dudley's baptism, and as Mather was apparently mistaken on those two points, we feel less confidence in other statements he made. However, putting together his mention of Mrs. Purefoy, "a gentlewoman famed in the parts about Northampton for her wisdom, piety, and works of charity," and his mention of Judge Nicholls, "his kinsman by his mother's side," "took special notice of him," we ascertain some sort of relationship to the Nicholls or Purefoy families, the latter being a very prominent and distinguished race in all its branches. Judge Nicholls' mother married for her second husband Richard Purefoy, son of Edward Purefoy, Esq., of Shaldeston, County Bucks, and was the Mrs. Purefoy mentioned by Mather. Richard Purefoy purchased Faxton Manor, and he and his wife both died there. John Purefoy, Esq., of Shaldeston, elder brother of Richard, died in 1579, when Thomas Dudley was a small child, but his name appears as one of the legatees in Purefoy's will. John Purefoy had no children; he names his wife, Ann, several nephews and nieces of the Purefoy name, nephew Edward Thorne, Mary Worseley and Katharine Worseley, Thomas Dudley and several others, beside his brothers, William and Richard Purefoy. This will is given (that is, an abstract) in Waters' Gleanings, and Mr. Waters appends a note about the family. John Purefoy's wife, curiously enough, was Anne Windsor, a niece of the wife

of Edmund Dudley, father of the first Duke of Northumberland. Mr. Waters says that Richard Purefoy, brother of John, married "widow Nicholls of Faxton, mother of Sir Augustine Nicholls of Faxton," Mary Purefoy, sister of John Purefoy of Shaldeston, married Thomas Thorne of Yardley Hastings, Northamptonshire. Another sister, Katharine, married Francis Worseley of Deepingate, Northamptonshire. Mr. Waters states that Thomas Thorne's youngest daughter, Susanna, married —— "Rogers" and the name is so given in the Harleian Society's Visitation, 1869, but in the original Purefoy pedigree in the Manuscript Room in the British Museum, it is stated that Susanna Thorne married "Roger," and the last name was evidently left out (Harl. Ms. 1189, 18, 19) thus showing that a mistake was made in the printed copy of the pedigree. As the Thornees lived at Yardley Hastings, only eight miles from Northampton, and close to Castle Ashby where Dudley was a page in the family of the Comptons, Earls of Northampton, it seemed advisable to examine the wills of both Thorntons and Worseleys, in the Northampton Registry, and there I found the will of Thomas Thorne, or Dorne, of Yardley Hastings, proved in May, 1589, and dated the same year. He mentions his "loving wife, Mary," sons, Robert, Edward and Arthur, the children of Frances Worseley, "to the children of Susan Dudley, my daughter, widow, ten pounds, to be equally divided," and there were also other legatees. But this shows plainly that this Thomas Thorne, or Dorne, is the Thomas Thorne of the pedigree, who married Mary Purefoy, and whose children were named in the will of John Purefoy, of Shaldeston. It is in Book 5, pp 328-30, of the Northampton Registry of Wills. Next I examined the parish registers of Yardley Hastings, and there I found the record of the baptism of Thomas Dudley, 12<sup>o</sup> Octob<sup>r</sup>, 1576, a date which corresponds exactly with his age as given at the time of his death. I found also the baptism of "Mary Dudley, daughter of Mr. Dudley, 16<sup>o</sup> Octobris, 1580," which agrees with Cotton Mather's statement that Captain Roger Dudley was "slain when his son and one only daughter were very young." The father's name is not given in the

record of baptism of Thomas, but the title "Mr." given in the record of Mary Dudley's baptism, should be noticed, as at that period "Mr." was only bestowed upon men of rank and position. And it was only the sons of men of good family who were accepted as pages in noblemen's households. As the gates of the beautiful Castle Ashby Park open into the quaint little village of Yardley Hastings, it was certainly most natural that a boy in the immediate vicinity left fatherless at an early age, the son of a man of good family who had fallen "in the wars," should be received into the family of Lord Compton, afterwards the Earl of Northampton. All that we know of Thomas Dudley's early surroundings makes it evident that the Thomas Dudley baptized at Yardley Hastings was our Governor Dudley, one of the founders of Massachusetts. But all this throws little further light on his Dudley ancestral line. His mother's family was of gentle blood, and through his grandmother, Mary Purefoy, he was descended from an ancient family tracing back to William Purefoy of Minserton, Co. Leicester, living in the reign of Henry III, in 1275. They intermarried with prominent families, and Mary Purefoy's mother, Anne Phettiplace, of Shefford, Co. Berks, was descended from Beatrix, daughter of Alexander, King of Portugal, according to the manuscript pedigrees of the Phettiplace family in the British Museum. Taking these facts into consideration, and also the fact that Gov. Dudley used the arms of the Barons of Dudley, it would seem that his father also was of high extraction. In Chancery Proceedings, II Series, Bundle 56.85, I found a petition from one Roger Dudley, one of the sons of John Dudley, Citizen and Draper of London, deceased, whose will Adlard gives on page 138 of his "Sutton Dudleys, &c." Roger complains that his step-father, Richard Hatton, had appropriated property belonging to him and to his brothers and sisters, and he presents the same names that are mentioned by his sister, Katharine Dudley, in her will, given by Adlard on page 136. This petition is not dated, but from the index it was evidently made somewhere between 1580-85, a period when Captain Roger Dudley was living. There is nothing to prove that this Roger Dudley was in

any way connected with Gov. Dudley, but I think that the facts that I have found go to show that Gov. Dudley was the son of a Roger Dudley, as Cotton Mather states, and no other Roger appears on the different Dudley pedigrees of that period. Gov. Dudley's use of the arms, as I said before, would imply that he knew he was descended from the Barons of Dudley, and therefore, if this Roger was his father, Adlard may be right in thinking that John Dudley's father, Thomas Dudley, was a son of Edward, 2nd Baron Dudley.

When you consider that we know that Dudley was connected with the Purefoys, that John Purefoy of Shaldeston mentions Thomas Dudley in his will, dated 1579, that John Purefoy's sister Mary, married Thomas Thorne, that Thomas Thorne had a daughter, Susanna or Susan, who married Dudley according to his will, and Roger \_\_\_\_\_ according to the herald's visitation, that a Thomas Dudley was baptized in 1576, at Yardley Hastings, the year in which Dudley was born, and that a younger sister was baptized there also, that Yardley Hastings is very near Castle Ashby where Dudley was a page to the Compton family, I think you will agree that the chain of evidence is very strong.

### PARENTAGE OF THOMAS DUDLEY.

Thomas Dudley was the son of Capt. Roger and Susanna (Thorne) Dudley, and was born 12 Oct., 1576, at Yardley Hastings, Northamptonshire, England.

Susanna Thorne was the daughter of Thomas and Mary (Purefoy) Thorne of Yardley.

Mary Purefoy was the daughter of Edward and Anne (Phettiplace) Purefoy. Edward Purefoy was born in Effield, June 13, 1494, and died at Shalston, June 1, 1558. He was the son of Nicholas Purefoy, and the pedigree reaches back to 1277.

Anne Phettiplace was the daughter of Richard Phettiplace, and was born July 16, 1496, at Shireford Parva, and died in 1568.

[From N. E. Genealogical Register, vol. 65, 189 & vol. 49, 507-8.]

### YARDLEY HASTINGS RECTORY. NORTHAMPTON.

Sept. 23, 1908.

This is to certify that there is a record in the Register of Baptisms belonging to the Church of St. Andrew, in the Parish of Yardley Hastings, in the County of Northants, England, of the baptism of Thomas Dudley, dated Oct. 12th, 1576. Also of Mary Dudley, daughter of Mr. Dudley, baptised 16th October, 1580.

A. C. RANGER,  
*Rector.*

John Cooke, *Rector* 1564-1595.

(*order*)

## FROM BROWNING'S "AMERICANS OF ROYAL DESCENT."

## PEDIGREE LXXXVII.—PAGE 341.

- 1.—Henry 1, King of France, m. Anne of Russia, and had :
- 2.—Hugh the great, Count of Vermandois, who had :
- 3.—Lady Isabel de Vermandois, who m., first Robert de Beaumont, created Earle of Leicester, and had :
- 4.—Robert, second Earl of Leicester, who had :
- 5.—Gervaise Paganel, Baron of Dudley, who had :
- 6.—Hawyse, Baroness of Dudley, who m. John de Someri, Baron of Dudley, in right of his wife, and had :
- 7.—Ralph de Someri, Baron of Dudley, d. 1210, who had :
- 8.—William Percival de Someri, Baron of Dudley, who had :
- 9.—Roger de Someri, second son, who m. secondly, Lady Anna bel, daughter of Robert de Chaucomb, and had :
- 10.—Roger de Someri, Baron of Dudley, d. 1290, who had :
- 11.—Lady Margaret de Someri, Baroness of Dudley, m. John de Sutton, Baron Dudley in right of his wife, and had :
- 12.—John de Sutton, second Baron Dudley d. 1359, who had :
- 13.—John de Sutton, third Baron Dudley, d. 1371, who had :
- 14.—John de Sutton, fourth Baron Dudley, d. 1407, who had :
- 15.—Sir John de Sutton, K. G., first Lord Dudley by writ, who had :
- 16.—Edmund Sutton de Dudley, second son, d.v.p., who had :
- 17.—Thomas Dudley, of London, eldest son, who had :
- 18.—John Dudley, of London, d.v.p., who had :
- 19.—Roger Dudley, of Canon's Ashby, Northamptonshire, who had :
- 20.—Thomas Dudley, elected Governor of Massachusetts Colony in 1634, and three times re-elected, and d. at Roxbury, Mass., 31 July, 1653.

[From Exeter News Letter March 13, 1903.]

HISTORICAL PAMPHLET NUMBER 7

A VISIT TO DUDLEY CASTLE  
BY  
ORINDA A. DUDLEY HORNBROOKE

PUBLISHED BY  
GOVERNOR THOMAS DUDLEY FAMILY ASSOCIATION

Dudley



A VISIT TO DUDLEY CASTLE  
BY  
ORINDA A. DUDLEY HORN BROOKE

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In a visit to the dear old home our mother land, its Cathedrals and Castles attract us more than anything else. They have made a part of all our interest in history, and poetry, and romance. We dream where

“The splendor falls on castle walls  
And snowy summits old in story”

and fortunate indeed are we if the realization is as noble as we anticipated.

Of the three English Castles connected with Dudley family history, Kenilworth, and Dudley both in ruins and Warwick, in splendid preservation and inhabited by the Earl of Warwick, I only visited two and was compelled by lack of time to leave Kenilworth for another visit, but it is of my visit to Dudley Castle that I shall speak this evening.

It was a beautiful morning the 21st of August of '99, that I left the ministerial member of the family so happy with the historic interest of the churches and colleges of Oxford, that he could not believe that there was an equal interest anywhere else, and took my seat in a second class car to go to Dudley. The extreme economy of the English travelling public can be estimated, when I say that though it was in the height of the vacation season, and immensely long trains were being run, and the third class compartments were packed; yet from Oxford to Birmingham, more than an hour's ride I had an entire compartment to myself.

It was on the Great Western Railway and we passed through Banbury, which always reminded me of the old nursery rhyme, through Leamington, beloved of Hawthorne, and historic Warwick, past the gently rounded English hills with their green hedge rows and the flocks and flocks of black faced South Down sheep, which are such a characteristic feature of the English landscape. After

Stratford-on-Avon, where the country grew flat, we soon began to get into another phase of English scenery, which is only interesting from an economic point of view.

Long before we reached Birmingham a heavy pall in the sky told us that we were nearing the black country. Squalid and dirty villages, replaced the pleasant farmstead and sheep pastures.

At the great black city of Birmingham, where I might have thought I was in Pittsburg, it was so like; I changed cars and a run of a few miles brought me to Dudley, still in the black country, but not so heavy a cloud as Birmingham.

Leaving the station I passed into a broad and handsome street with well grown shade trees overhanging the sidewalks and sloping gently upward toward the town. One has at once the feeling that he is entering a prosperous and comfortable community. Fine as the street is now, the inhabitants regretfully say that the electric tramway has greatly marred its former beauty; but we are so used to having the beauty of our streets sacrificed to utility, and often to the mere greed of corporations, that we hardly stop to sympathize.

Five minutes' walk from the station on the right, Castle Hill rises abruptly, and on its crest is the noble old pile of ruins, the oldest in old England, the home of our forefathers. I will not try to speak of the thrill of heart with which I passed up the steep path, through the great gateways, into the court yard, and saw before me, the towers and turreted walls of this most ancient dwelling place of our race. [There was so much more to see than I expected, for the walls were in greatly better preservation than I had been led to expect.]

This castle was built according to the best authorities by Dudd, or Dudo, about the year 700. It grew to be called Dudd lea or leigh, because the estate comprised not only the hill but all the surrounding flat country or leas. Hence the name of Dudley was evolved, and it is sometimes spelled Dudleigh in England now.

It was added to, pulled down and rebuilt according to the needs or prosperity of succeeding generations, until after a long seige it

surrendered to Parliament during the Cromwellian wars. It was then dismantled as a fortress but continued to be used as a dwelling place until 1750 when it was burned by incendiaries. Two or three years ago Warwick narrowly escaped being also destroyed by fire.

Dudley Castle is situated on the crest of a small steep hill, an ideal position for a fortress castle of ye olden times. It commands a view of the surrounding country for miles around. Evidently there was nothing the matter with the good judgment of that far off Dudd or Dudo when he picked out a building spot, for his grim old stronghold.

It is built of limestone, red sandstone and brick, use evidently being made of what comes most easily at hand.

The grounds around are beautiful and picturesque, being laid out in walks and lawns, ornamented by hawthorn trees and shrubs. By the generosity of the last, and also of the present Earl, these beautiful grounds of so much historic interest, are open to the public, so that the town of Dudley, has the unique advantage of having this beautiful and diversified park of seventy-two acres open to its citizens absolutely free.

The moat is long since filled up, but when open and filled with water, and the walls and turrets manned with warlike retainers, and plenty of beef and ale in the great cellars, no wonder that the doughty old barons could hold their own against the world.

A very unique architectural feature was a triple gateway. Evidently built to make assurance not only doubly but triply sure, in the protection of the castle, when filled as they formerly were with heavy oak portcullises, they would have offered a well nigh impregnable defence to the ancient forms of warfare, even without those grim holes above, where the defenders were supposed to pour molten lead on the heads of the besieging enemy if they should succeed in battering down the front portcullis. Evidently war was always war, whether waged with bows and arrows, pikes and spears or Mauser rifles and the last murderous invention. The walls at this point are nine feet thick.

The dungeon keep is one of the best preserved and most interesting parts of the old ruin. I went up the narrow winding stone stairway, where the steps were hollowed by the foot-falls of ages; past the little slits of windows, made to shoot arrows through to the enemy, up to the battlemented top where a glorious view of the surrounding country awaited me. It is said that on a clear day, if it ever is clear in the black country, one can see eight countries, and thirty two towns and places of interest, including the Worcester-shire Beacon, thirty-two miles away. Although the view I had was far and wide I did not see anything like so far as that.

The keep is fifty-two feet high and has been put in a perfectly safe condition by Lord Dudley so that visitors can go up for the pleasure of the view without any anxiety of personal safety.

Several people went up at the same time as myself, among them two school boys of ten or twelve years of age, with whom I chatted. Coming down together one was enthusiastically commenting on the beauty of the view. "Yes" I said "and I came a long distance for that view." "So did we too" he said. "Where did you come from?" I asked. "From Wolverhampton" they both replied. Wolverhampton is six miles away, and when I told them that I came from near Boston in the United States, a prolonged "Ohoo" came from their lips and they looked at me in round eyed wonder. Evidently the American tourist was an unknown quantity to them.

The interior of the Dungeon Keep was a gloomy stronghold, the only windows being occasional slits. It was a large room fifty-nine by twenty-seven feet. Underneath the Keep were cells or dungeons, presumably for the housing of prisoners of war, but filled up now with stones and earth.

The kitchen was one of the most interesting of all the different rooms. It was evidently planned to cook for a garrison. There were two enormous fireplaces in which whole oxen could have been roasted. It was a very lofty apartment and had two windows facing the courtyard. It was nearly square, being thirty by thirty-one

feet in area. The larger of the two fireplaces was fifteen feet and ten inches wide and had three flues, the smaller one was thirteen feet wide and had two flues. Descriptive books of the castle say that an enormous boiler was set beside the smaller one, but in the mass of tumbled down stone and bricks, and weeds and bushes I failed to discover it. A couple of days before I had visited the kitchen of Christ College in Oxford, built by Cardinal Woolsey and kept to the present day just as it was built in 1528. The great fireplace is used every day in term time, just as if cook stoves, ranges and gas and electric cooking had never been invented. Roasting and broiling being done just exactly as it had been done for over three hundred years. There one of the assistant cooks, who did the honors, told me that six dozen chickens, or forty legs of mutton could be roasted at once before the fire, and while I did not have the means to accurately compare, it did not seem so large to me as either of the great kitchen fireplaces at Dudley Castle. Besides this great kitchen there was another kitchen or hall with two brick ovens in the corner. So the culinary arrangements were ample to have taken care of a large number of people.

An unfailing well of water over a hundred feet deep in the middle of the courtyard supplied the needs of the stronghold. It was covered up and lost for many years but was rediscovered in 1805 and cleared out and put in order.

A considerable portion of the Chapel walls are still standing and show it to have been of considerable architectural beauty with handsome painted and lancet shaped windows. It was built of limestone and bricks. I brought away a couple of broken bricks as souvenirs of this ancient chapel, where my feudal forefathers worshipped God, ages ago. The chapel was quite large for a private chapel, being as the accommodating guide book told me, fifty by twenty-two feet.

Underneath this and adjoining parts of the castle was a great cellar or dungeon, the use of which is forever forgotten, and can only be a matter of conjecture now. As there was a large fireplace

in it, it seems unlikely that it was only used for the storage of provisions or munitions of war, but whether it was used for the keeping of prisoners of war, or for the housing of their own men is mere guess work now. Any theory may stand. Probably in the course of the hundreds of years that the castle was inhabited it was put to many different uses.

The largest room of all in the castle was the great hall or banquet room. It was of noble proportions, being seventy-five by fifty-six feet and is said to have had a roof arched and grained like an ancient church. A gallery of musicians crossed one end. If only these desolate and broken old walls could speak, what tales they could tell of great banquetings, of the stately promenade of lords and ladies, of the quibble of fool and jester, of the music of the harper, of the song of the minstrel, and all that went to make up the stately and romantic life that ebbed and flowed through these arched doorways, and which is now as unreal to us as a dream. Fallen indeed is its ancient splendor.

Another large apartment is a hall that was probably used as a dining-hall and justice room. It was twenty by thirty feet and had a bow window said to have been formerly filled with stained windows.

There were many other rooms large and small attributed by the guide books to various uses, but so ruined and broken that it would seem a mere piece of imagination to me to try tell their uses. In fact in the hundreds of years that Dudley Castle was inhabited, its different rooms must have been altered, rebuilt and occupied in various ways according to the needs and tastes of various generations.

It appears to have always been used as a garrison until its surrender to Cromwell's army, after a two year's siege in 1646. Then it was dismantled as a fortress, but still used as a residence 'till its burning in 1750.

During the Parliamentary War there was at least one bloody engagement when there were one hundred of Cromwell's men left

dead before its walls, and two majors of foot, two captains, three lieutenants, and fifty common soldiers taken prisoners, while there was but slight loss on the King's side.

With our slight and often flimsy buildings it is hard to realize that a human habitation could be continuously occupied for a thousand years and yet such is the enormous antiquity of this ancient pile.

Dudley Castle was mysteriously burned in the night in 1750. As flames started apparently at the same time in different parts of the great pile of buildings nothing could be done to save it. The fire was said to have been an awful and wonderful sight. Flames burst from its many shaped windows and leaped up the turrets. Molten lead ran from the melting leaden roofs, like lava from a volcano down the hill, and nearly fired the town. The flames could be seen for forty miles and lighted up all the surrounding country.

The inhabitants of the castle escaped uninjured and some of their most valuable goods were saved, but such was the power of the flames that nothing could be done to save the noble old castle itself. What fiendish greed, or malice against the Dudleys caused the awful deed is only known to the One who knoweth all things. For many years it was unsafe to go about the buildings, but now tottering walls have been supported, dangerous places fenced in, so that one can roam around at will, and steep his soul in historic revery.

The park is not laid out in any set or regular way but is lovely with lawns and shrubs and wild flowers and hawthorn trees. Paths and driveways go in all directions. At first I was unable to see how there should be such steep little hills and deep ravines, but I found by inquiry that limestone mines are under the grounds and that they have sometimes fallen in and the owner has fenced them in, so not to be a source of danger to the unwary, and kind nature has covered them with grass and flowers and shrubs.

I asked my way to the ruins of Dudley Priory which I did not have time to visit, of a young lady, and she said, "take the

next riding " meaning driveway, "and go on towards Lipton." I had never happened to hear the word used in that way before. I remarked on the beauty of the park and was told that I ought to see it in June when the hawthorn trees were in bloom. There are such avenues of old hawthorn trees that it must be a dream of beauty in the time of their blossoming.

Dudley Priory, the broken ruins of which I did not visit, was founded in 1161 and used during the succeeding years as a religious house 'till it was dismantled like so many others by Henry VIII. Time would not allow me to speak of the exquisite beauty of the Lover's Walk and of the many beautiful views and vistas that opened up in the beautiful castle grounds. I came upon an artist painting a bit of the scenery, and tried to get some historic information from him, but found that his interest was purely pictorial and that historically his ignorance was more dense than my own.

Pasted on the wall of the watch tower, I found a poster and I think all the kinsfolk who remember my deep and abiding interest in our feathered friends will realize how much I was pleased. I sat down on the grass and copied it at once.

It was this :—

"Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

#### WILD BIRDS.

Any person who during the close time provided for (March 15 to August 1) shall shoot, trap, snare, net or otherwise take any wild birds, or shall have any wild bird in his possession, or shall refuse to give his name and place of abode when desired by any person who may discover him committing either of the above offences, will be prosecuted by the police of the above society.

John Colman, Secretary."

As I reluctantly left the Castle Grounds and went down into the street I took time to examine the monument erected by the

citizens of Dudley town in memory of the late Lord Dudley. It is a portrait statue of more than life size on a high pedestal and stands near the castle gate. The inscription reads thus :

Erected  
by  
Public Subscription  
In Memory of  
William  
Earl of Dudley  
In Grateful Remembrance  
of  
The Many Benefits  
Conferred by him  
Upon this Town  
And District  
1888.

It is pleasant to know that the last and also the present Earl have used a portion of their great fortune derived in large measure from the quarries and mines of Dudley, for the education and uplifting of their townsfolk and employees. A hospital, a dispensary, a library, an industrial school and many other good works being wholly or in part given to the town by them.

I went up into the town where a fine memorial fountain was erected by the last Earl in commemoration of his marriage.

I had only time for a hurried visit to the parish church which is a handsome modern building and of no especial interest to me excepting for the many Dudleys that were buried in the Church Yard beside it.

The town itself as I said at the beginning of my paper, is well built and has an air of great prosperity.

I asked the young woman of whom I bought photographs, if the old Earl had really been a very popular man. "Oh yes!" was the reply, "everybody loved him—he did everything for us."

"I am disappointed in only one thing in Dudley" I said, "I wish it wasn't so smoky." "You wouldn't notice it after you had been here a few days" she answered, "we who live here all the time think there is not such a pleasant place in the world as Dudley."

After a day of absorbing interest I wended my way to the train to rejoin my family.

As I whirled away I leaned to catch one last look of that noble monument of England's history where now and forevermore

"The trumpet's silver voice is still  
The warder silent on the hill."

HISTORICAL PAMPHLET NUMBER 8

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REV. SAMUEL DUDLEY

BY

AUGUSTINE JONES

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PUBLISHED BY

GOVERNOR THOMAS DUDLEY FAMILY ASSOCIATION

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Dudley



## REV. SAMUEL DUDLEY

BY

AUGUSTINE JONES

An Address delivered at Exeter, N. H., June 17th, 1908. At an outing  
of the Governor Thomas Dudley Family Association.

Rev. Samuel Dudley was Pastor at Exeter, where we now are (1650–1683). This vicinage was consecrated, to religion, learning and high-living by our ancestors centuries past, while some of us are here for the first time. This town has been sending its healing, notable influence into the life-blood of the nation, nay of the world, almost three centuries.

A good beginning is one half of the work. Rev. Samuel Dudley was the second pastor in this Parish, dating from 1650 and ministering for a generation at this place. Religion is fundamental in government, it is the soul and spirit of self-government, the very inspiration of holy justice herself. The earliest wheat sown here is in bloom and fruitage the wide world over.

The *Arbella* entered Massachusetts Bay, one beautiful June day, in 1630, ("What is so rare as a day in June") two hundred and seventy eight years ago, bearing the First Charter of Mass., the first Governor, John Winthrop; the second, Thomas Dudley; the eighth, Simon Bradstreet; also the noble Isaac Johnson and his eminent wife, the Lady *Arbella*, in whose honor the ship was newly christened, with the name *Arbella*, as she entered upon her adventurous, Puritanic crossing of the ocean, the Flagship of the Fleet. Other notable persons were on this ship, among them the Rev. George Phillips, a "godly man specially gifted," who used to talk to the sturdy old Puritans of Watertown, "at such a rate as marvellously ministered grace unto the hearers."

This same Phillips was the ancestor of the founders, of "Phillips Andover," and "Phillips Exeter," mingling on this deck with

Dudleys, Winthrop, Johnson and the Bradstreets and other fathers of Mass., with elements in him which would light candles in America, which will never go out.

What a voyage that was. The Arbella and her great mission ought to live with her associates in the gratitude of every soul everywhere loving liberty and righteousness.

Lady Arbella Johnson was one of the first to fade and die. She had left the comforts and luxuries of her home in England, the daughter of the Earl of Lincoln, and only touched America, the land of promise, on her way to heaven. Her excellent husband followed her in thirty days. The little, ancient, stone church at Clipsham, England, still stands, where before they embarked they prayed and had visions of the glorious life beyond the sea and certainly their blessed influence survives with this nation.

Mrs. George Phillips and The Lady Arbella, it is said were buried side by side in Salem, Mass., but like the grave of Moses, the law-giver of Israel, no man knows their place of sepulchre.

The Puritans were so abstracted with church-craft and state-craft, that like soldiers in battle they little heeded the comrades who fell beside them, in the conflict, whether high or low, it was in a common and exalted cause.

Arbella translated, is "beautiful altar." This ship was an altar, a place of religion, from one shore to the other. It was the <sup>2</sup>levy which entered the Republic at its inception, from the Arbella, George Herbert sang in 1630.

" Religion stands on tiptoe in our land,  
Ready to pass to the American strand."

There was a young man, Samuel Dudley, (born in England 1610, died at Exeter, N. H. 1683) on the deck of that historic ship, who is of special interest today, forever associated with the annals of this town of Exeter. He rendered civic services in Salisbury, Mass., twelve years, between 1638 and 1650, then he turned to clerical duty and continued in the ministry at this place the next thirty years.

He had been a good lawyer at Salisbury, and after that an excellent gospel minister at Exeter. It is declared to be good training for the ministry. Lawyers have so much in common with sinners, that they are keen of mind, upon their vulnerable points and their own opportunities. The apostle Paul, the greatest preacher of all men, was trained first in the law, at the feet of Gamaliel, "the beauty of the law," and then devoted his life to the gospel. Samuel Dudley was at the head of the list of proprietors of Salisbury in 1638. Amesbury and other towns were then included in Salisbury. He was usually a deputy, or law-maker, for that town during the years from 1641 to 1646. It was at this period, that the "Body of Laws" of Mass. was being completed, and first adopted in 1641, Dudley's first year in the General Court.

Gov. Thomas Dudley, his father had, since 1638, been on a Commission, to oversee the construction of these very laws, when he had recently come to dwell in Ipswich, and brought with him his son Samuel and the rest of his family. Gov. Dudley was well instructed in this code. Their minister, the Rev. Nathaniel Ward has the credit of creating the "Body of Liberties," The first General Statutes of Mass. a bulwark in the Colony against personal dictation and tyranny.

Ward was first a lawyer, then a minister and finally a poet. He was able and his work will bear comparison, with other codes of that period.

There are two very important facts, in the legal education of Samuel Dudley; First, that the book of Laws was created by his minister, Nathaniel Ward at Ipswich, under the supervision of his father, Gov. Dudley, Samuel was in at the birth. Second, He had settled in Salisbury in 1638, and was in 1641 a deputy from that town to the General Court, when and where these laws were discussed and enacted, so that he acquired all the learning needful, to administer them as a justice, in later years.

These laws were so fully constructed on the laws of Moses and the Bible; that legal and clerical education were each useful in interpretation of the statutes.

Mr. Dudley was for three or four years after 1646, judge in great and small courts of his county in Norfolk (or North folks.) This was not the present county of Norfolk. It included Salisbury, Hampton, Haverhill, Exeter, Dover and Strawberry Bank (or Portsmouth). Salisbury was the shire town, where most of the courts were held, for the county. Exeter was in his jurisdiction, before he dwelt here.

New Hampshire was a part of Mass. until 1680. She objected to this union when it was originally forced upon her, but seemed as truly sorry when the throne of England severed her from Mass. in 1680. New Hampshire, during the union, enjoyed one attractive and liberal exception. A Freeman in Mass., unless he were a church member, was not permitted to vote, in town meetings or sit as deputy in the General Court.

The reason for this exception seems to have been, that they had neither church nor pastor nor "benefit of clergys" in N. H. The event is luminous, with a glow of justice and mercy. There is no condemnation, in the absence of law and light.

J. Q. Evans writes, in "Salisbury's Earliest Settlers," "Samuel Dudley, another of our early settlers, during his brief stay in Salisbury of "(twelve years)," shone forth as one of her most illustrious citizens. He lived just north of the present church site," as shown on the map, in the History of Amesbury by J. Merrill.

Thomas Dudley was for the fourth and last time Governor, in 1650, the same year that the Rev. Samuel came to Exeter to reside. The Gov. would rejoice over and above all other felicitous events, that his only, grown-up and most worthy son, was drawn by the Grace of God, to the ministry of Jesus Christ. He had given prestige and power to this dear boy, and only survived during three years of his ministry.

The Rev. Samuel married Mary Winthrop, the daughter of Gov. John Winthrop in 1632, very soon after she arrived from Europe in the Lyon, in 1631.

Mary Winthrop Dudley died in 1643 nearly ten years later in Salisbury, "and is buried in yonder cemetery, on the road to Salis-

bury Beach," by the sounding sea. She was the worthy mother of five children.

The Commissions granted by the General Court to him were numerous, while he made his home at Salisbury, he being usually at the head by appointment.

It may be desirable to name a few of them. In 1646 to lay out the bounds of Exeter next to Hampton, with Edward Rawson, Secretary of the Colony. Even after he was out of polities, and a pastor the confidence of the General Court abode with him to settle the boundary in 1656 between Hampton and Salisbury, and in 1652, to determine the limits of Northam (Dover, N. H.). To settle with Edward Rawson, in 1646, the bounds of Hampton Common, while his home was in Salisbury. He was selected almost every year by the General Court upon the request of the citizens of Salisbury, to end small causes. Assuring us, that at home, they liked the quality of his justice.

He was Associate Justice, of the County Court at Ipswich in 1647. The order runs, "Samuel Dudley and two others shall keep Court at Norfolk County, that is to be chief of the County Court, with associates." He is then empowered to administer oaths to certain justices. !!

Gov. Samuel Bellingham is made chief in 1649, and Samuel Dudley, Associate in Norfolk. Samuel Dudley, if not a member of the General Court, was usually First Selectman.

These were early New England towns and Samuel Dudley was conspicuous in their simple, primal origin. It is sufficient glory for himself and his children to have taken the first welding heat on these towns, to have been at the fountain head in the construction and use at the outset of these quaint, and signal units of our unique, political fabric, which has challenged the attention, for a century, of every notable student in government. Moreover to have been one of the creators of the first Code of Mass. which has been a leader, and beacon light, in Christian Civilization and human progress since the days of her Puritan founders.

Rev. Samuel Dudley, in 1679, at the age of 73, still Pastor, at

Exeter, is on a Commission to draw up the laws of N. H. another state, made by its Assembly at the separation from Mass. the same to be, as, "near as may be according to the laws of England, and will suit the Constitution of N. H."

PROC. MASS. HIST. SOCIETY, SECOND SERIES VOL. 10: 276.

Some persons in 1665 were trying to sever N. H. from Mass. which separation was achieved fifteen years after Dudley, as appears, opposed it then, and it failed.

"This may certify whom it may concern, that concerning the question that is at hand, whether the town of Exeter, hath subscribed to that petition sent to his Majesty ("Chas. II.") for the taking of Portsmouth, Dover, Hampton and Exeter under his immediate government, I do affirm to my best apprehension, and that by more than probable conjecture, that the town of Exeter hath no hand in that petition directly or indirectly.

Witness my hand, 10:8, 66.      Samuel Dudley."

Attest Edward Rawson, Secretary.

But at last there came a change, Dudley was first on the list of twenty persons selected in 1679-80, from Exeter, to be drawn from for Deputies, in the organization of the new State Government. They are to meet on the first day of March, at nine o'clock in the morning and take the oath of allegiance (to the Crown or Colony or both) to constitute the first Assembly of N. H.

"This established the first Province in New England," the others had been Colonies: Bancroft. It will thus appear that the Gov. Thomas Dudley Family had a small share in founding two colonies, which became New England States, in our Union.

We have omitted to mention that Samuel Dudley was in 1641 appointed by the General Court, at other times later, to solemnize marriages, or to see that marriages were legally executed. The Puritans regarded marriages, as mere contracts, witnessed by public magistrates, not solemnized by religious rites, rings or sacraments, or priestly authority of Apostolic Succession. They were not then as now made in Heaven, within Puritanic jurisdiction.

Rev. Samuel had also five children by his Second wife Mary

Byley, whom he married at Salisbury in 1643, and finally he had eight children, by Elizabeth, (blank) to us unknown, although she is our lamented ancestor. The summary of children is eighteen. It certainly seem to us to have been extreme neglect in Rev. Samuel, with all his extensive experience in matrimony and in raising a family, that he did not record the maiden name of Elizabeth, his last and most abundant wife. Perhaps we ought to overlook his omissions, in the midst of Church and State, forlorn Elizabeth, eighteen children, with griefs to quench, or jokes to crack, and sustenance to create, for so great a multitude, on a salary of two hundred dollars. We read the truth in Holy Writ, "Happy is the man, that hath his quiver full of them." It angments our joy beyond measure, to believe on such high authority, that in such a household, the Rev. Samuel Dudley was indeed happy.

If the Rev. Samuel had flourished during the administration of a recent President of the United States, he would have been supremely qualified for any office or emolument, within reach of the government.

Mr. Charles H. Bell said at Exeter in 1888:—

"The other arrival, which conduced to the improvement of Exeter, was that of a settled minister, The Rev. Samuel Dudley. Nothing could have been more fortunate for the people. A son of one Governor of Mass. and the son-in-law of another. His acquaintance with the leading men, of the Colony, was potent for good, to our people.

Moreover he had been a man of affairs, before he became a minister. He appears to have been free from hair splitting and theological subtleties. He ministered here more than thirty years," and perhaps no man, in the infancy of the place did more than he to give to it;" character and stability."

Belknap, and other interested historians, have pronounced Dudley faithful, diligent, able; with large capacity. He has the exalted credit of introducing fine breeds of blooded animals, into the country early, to the great benefit of New England.

The offices of trust bestowed on Dudley by his fellow citizens

of Salisbury, the abiding faith and support of his contemporaries, who are the best and only judges of the worth of men, leave nothing to be desired, during an ideal career of more than three score years and ten. You search in vain for a flaw in his life, character or deeds; he has escaped calumny and comes to us unscratched. It is indeed not a small matter to have lived in one vicinity so many years; and to have been so guided by intellect, incited by justice, and inspired by moral sense, and "The light that never was on, on sea or land," as to stand so long in the eyes of men, with a character, like ermine, which is the essential in a perfect life. His honored tomb, within a grove, of Exeter Cemetery is tenderly cherished.

P.S. There is an association of the Dudleys with Phillips Exeter, which does not pertain to Rev. Samuel Dudley's Sojourn there, but is too important to be neglected.

Daniel Webster, the greatest orator, our country has produced, received his first lessons in Latin at that institution, from Joseph Stevens Buckminster, a Dudley, of our lineage, of great note. Buckminster did more for Webster, than any other person, sustaining a constant, unwearied struggle with him, to overcome his extreme timidity in declamation. He did not succeed at the time, but he left his vital, seed-sowing impression, upon the soul of the greatest orator of the age. His teacher, and dear friend, younger than himself, had done his great life work, and departed at the age of twenty-eight.

HISTORICAL PAMPHLET NUMBER 9

THOMAS DUDLEY 1576—1653  
GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY

BY

GEORGE ELLSWORTH KOUES

PUBLISHED BY  
GOVERNOR THOMAS DUDLEY FAMILY ASSOCIATION  
1915

Dudley



# GOVERNOR THOMAS DUDLEY

A paper read before the Society of Colonial Wars in the State of New York

THOMAS DUDLEY—1576-1653

Governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony

To understand the character of the great Puritan, Thomas Dudley, from whom some of the members of this Society are descended, we must consider the environment of his life before he sailed from Cowes, Isle of Wight, in 1630 as Deputy Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony at the age of fifty-four years, and in the ripeness of his experience.

Thomas Dudley was born in Northamptonshire in 1576 and was baptized in St. Andrew's Church, Yardley Hastings, October 12 of that year, the son of Roger Dudley and Susan Thorne, whose mother was a Purefoy. Roger Dudley was slain at the Battle of Ivry, in 1590, fighting as a captain with a commission from Queen Elizabeth under the banner of King Henry of Navarre. Thomas Dudley left no written record of his ancestry, unless it was destroyed when the house of his daughter, Ann Bradstreet, at Andover, Massachusetts, was burned, and it has not been definitely proved whose son Roger was.

In 1653 Thomas Dudley affixed to his will the seal of the Barons of Dudley, with a crescent for difference, denoting his descent from a second son. Dudley Castle, the seat of these Barons Dudley, at Dudley, Staffordshire, was built by Athelstan in the year 700. As he was trained in the law, Thomas Dudley affixed the seal advisedly, and his son, Governor Joseph Dudley, used the same arms both while he was in England and Deputy Governor of the Isle of Wight and while in America and Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. His daughter, Ann Bradstreet, the first American poet, in her poem on Sir Philip Sidney says:

Let none, then, disallow of these my strains  
Who have the self-same blood yet in my veins.

Here we have a clear claim of relationship to John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland and Earl of Warwick, one of the executors of the will of Henry VIII, the power behind the throne of Edward VI, whose son, Gilford Dudley, married Lady Jane Grey, and who was descended, as was he, from the Barons of Dudley Castle. The Duke's daughter, Mary, married Sir Henry Sidney and was the mother of Sir Philip. Sir Philip Sidney's sister in 1576 married Henry, Earl of Pembroke, and she is the lady celebrated by Ben Jonson, who wrote her

#### EPITAPH

Underneath this sable hearse,  
 Lies the subject of all verse,  
 Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother,  
 Death, ere thou has killed another,  
 Fair and learned, and good as she,  
 Time shall throw a dart at thee.

Thomas Dudley and his one only sister were left orphans at an early age and were taken in charge by Mrs. Purefoy, a relative on his mother's side, "famed in the region around Northampton for her piety and wisdom, as well as for philanthropic works." She sent him to a Latin school where he was educated. As soon as he had passed his childhood he was taken as a page into the family of Lord William Compton, who afterwards was created Earl of Northampton, to be taught all the accomplishments of a knight. The beautiful Castle Ashby, whose gates open to Yardley Hastings, where Dudley was born, was one of the seats of Lord Compton, and here he continued, says Cotton Mather, until he was ripe for higher services. At that time, about the year 1597, when Thomas was twenty-one years of age, there came down from the Queen a demand for volunteers to go over into France to help Henry IV, the Protestant Henry of Navarre, in the time of his Civil War. The lads of Northamptonshire were none of them willing to enlist in that service until a commission was sent from Queen

Elizabeth to the gallant young Dudley to be their captain, and then immediately more than four score offered to march under him to the scene of conflict. He was sent over to France, which being at that time an "Academy of Arms as well as of Arts," he had opportunity to acquire military skill and fit himself for commanding in the field and in other affairs.

We are told by Mather in his *Magnalia* that King Henry lay before Amiens, and that Dudley had gone to assist him. The city had been captured by the Spaniards in 1597, but it was retaken, however, without bloodshed by King Henry. Dudley and his company participated in the siege, which was ended after six months by its capitulation in September. The siege of Amiens was of great importance, because here was the last resistance of Philip II, and on April the 15th of the following year, 1598, Henry IV issued his edict of Nantes.

Cotton Mather says that "after Captain Dudley returned to Northampton he settled again near Northampton, and meeting with a gentlewoman of both good estate and good extraction, he entered into marriage with her and took up his habitation for some time in that part of the country where he enjoyed the ministry of Mr. Dodd, Mr. Cleaver and one Mr. Winston, and it is supposed that association with these men largely influenced his religious views."

Again Mather says that Dudley "was taken by Judge Nicolls to be his clerk, who, being his kinsman also, by his mother's side, took more special notice of him and found him a prompt young man; he learned much skill in the law and attained to such abilities as rendered him capable of performing a secretary's place, for he was known to have a very good pen, to draw up any writing in succinct and apt expression, which so far commended him to the favor of the judge that he would never have dismissed him from his service, but have preferred him to some more eminent and profitable employment under him, but that he was prevented by death."

Judge Nicolls died in 1616. Says Augustine Jones: "We cannot give too much attention to the Honorable Augustine Nicolls, because he must have had a marked influence upon the character of Dudley. It is said that Nicolls entered at the Middle Temple in London, November 5, 1575; that he became a reader or lecturer in 1602 and in the same year was summoned to take the degree of the Coif, which, in consequence of the death of Elizabeth, was renewed by King James, by whom he was knighted; that his arguments in Westminster Hall are reported by both Coke and Croke for the next nine years till 1612, when he was elevated to be Judge of the Common Pleas. Three years afterward he was appointed Chancellor of Charles, Prince of Wales. It must always be accounted good fortune on the part of Dudley and creditable to his discernment and incorruptibility that in the midst of so much wickedness in high places he made a choice of such a friend and patron as Judge Nicolls, of whom it could be said freely that he was of 'exemplary integrity,' even to the rejection of gratuities after judgment. This was about the time that the Lord Chancellor of England, Sir Francis Bacon, was found guilty of bribery of the most flagrant sort."

Dudley's residence in the city of London had much to do with his development and his quick mental fibre must have accumulated wisdom as he listened to the trial of many of the cases in the Common Law by great masters like Coke, which have served as precedents to guide the succeeding generations of jurists. Here, too, he must have listened to the religious and political agitations of that period, when the divine right of kings was questioned and England was about to enter into that remarkable struggle for liberty which brought Charles I to the block, and Cromwell, to whom our Dudley has been likened in force and directness of character, to the Dictatorship of England.

Westminster Abbey and the beautiful Chapter House, in which assembled the first Parliament, together with Westminster

Hall—the great Hall of William Rufus—was as a home to him and, in the Jerusalem Chamber of the Abbey, was being translated King James' Version of the Bible. Shakespeare was writing his plays and acting in them at the Globe and Blackfriars theatres, and was, in all probability, seen by Dudley and possibly known to him, for in his day London was a small city containing only about one hundred and sixty thousand people.

At the death of Judge Nicolls, Lord Say and Sele and Lord Compton recommended Dudley to administer the affairs of Theophilus Clinton, fourth Earl of Lincoln, whose estates were greatly involved through the lavish expenditure of his grandfather, Henry, the second Earl, particularly while he was in the train of King Henry VIII, attending the fete of the Field of the Cloth of Gold. Dudley, it is said, became to Theophilus what Joseph had been to Pharaoh, and the earl acted so entirely upon Dudley's advice that he would do nothing but what he advised. Dudley even arranged his marriage with Bridget Finnes, daughter of Lord Say and Sele.

Of Dudley's work for the earl we have his own words: "I found the estate of the Earl of Lincoln so much in debt, all of which I have discharged, and have raised the rents so many hundreds per annum. God will, I trust, bless me and mine in such a manner as he did Nehemiah; appealing unto the judgment of Him, that knew all hearts, for he had walked in his integrity before God, to the full discharge of the duty of his place." It is stated that the indebtedness discharged by him in ten years was equivalent to one hundred thousand dollars, equal to-day to at least five hundred thousand dollars, so that Dudley must have provided ten thousand dollars yearly besides living expenses, interests, etc. Dudley completed his task for the earl in 1626 and retired from his activities a man of comfortable fortune.

For some few years he lived under the shadow of St. Botolph's at Boston, that great church with its tower of three hundred feet and its lantern to guide the mariner of that day, with the exception

of the Cathedrals the greatest church building in England. Here John Cotton preached and Thomas Dudley listened. The town took its name from the church. It was successively St. Botolph's Town, Botolph's Town, Boston, and I am of the opinion that it was Thomas Dudley who moved the resolution at the first court of the company held in Massachusetts Bay after the arrival of the emigrants that the place be called Boston. He was logically the man to so move, for Winthrop had no association with Boston or interest in it, living at a distance at Groton, in Suffolk, and John Cotton did not come to our Boston until three years after the naming of the place.

Dudley's old biographer says the times grew very stormy around him, and he was more willing to depart to a new world of promise where he might enjoy his freedom to the utmost of what he desired. His circle of intimate friends included Lord Compton, Lord Say and Sele, the Earl of Lincoln, Isaac Johnson and John Humphreys, brothers-in-law of the earl, and these in turn were friends of and associates of Cromwell, Hampden and Pym. These men, and Dudley especially, were the moving spirits in the emigration of Massachusetts Bay, which best may be described in Dudley's own words:

"Touching the plantation which we here have begun, it fell out thus. About the year 1627 some friends being together in Lincolnshire, fell into discourse about New England and the planting of the Gospel there, and after some deliberation we imparted our reasons by letters and messages to some in London and the West Country, where it was likewise deliberately thought upon, and at length with often negotiations so ripened, that in the year 1628 we procured a patent from His Majesty for our planting between Massachusetts Bay and Charles River on the south, and the River Merrimac on the north, and three miles on either side of those rivers and bay, and Mr. Winthrop, of Suffolk, coming into us, we came to such resolution," etc.

On the 26th of August, 1629, an agreement was entered into between twelve of the intending colonists to sell their estates and set sail for Massachusetts Bay on the 1st of March, 1630. They planned to establish a place of refuge in New England not only for themselves, but for those who at the time remained in England to fight the fight for liberty of conscience, and where, if their efforts were not successful, they could find that liberty. Several members of the Massachusetts Bay Company, undertaking the colonization, were members of the Long Parliament and under the lead of Cromwell did secure a large measure of liberty and therefore remained at home.

The agreement was signed first by Sir Richard Saltonstall, his title giving him the usual precedence, Dudley signed second and Winthrop ninth; this order of signing on Winthrop's part was, I suppose, because he had but a short time before joined the company. In all the preliminaries Dudley's part was that of the chief and of one who is well content to plan and work and select others to do the honors. Mathew Craddock was the first governor of the company and as he was not to go to New England, Winthrop was elected in his place and likewise, at the last moment, John Humphreys, who was deputy governor, deciding not to sail with the company, Thomas Dudley, who had been secretary, was elected deputy governor in his place. Dudley speaks of Winthrop "as well approved here for his piety, liberality, wisdom and gravity," and at another time Winthrop, speaking of Dudley, says, "besides, this gentleman was a man of approved wisdom and godliness and of much good service to the country," and when a difference of opinion came between them Winthrop wrote Dudley, "I am unwilling to keep such a cause of provocation by me," to which Dudley replied, "your overcomimg yourself hath overcome me." Words of mutual respect are these flowing between the foremost founders of the small Commonwealth and a great nation.

Winthrop served as governor four years, at the end of which time it was thought best to have rotation in office rather than to perpetuate power in the hands of one person. Therefore, delegates were chosen and sent to the General Court in 1634, and Thomas Dudley was, by ballots of paper, the first time they were used in a public election, elected governor, and Ludlow the deputy. Previously the governor was elected by the body of assistants, so that this election inaugurated a system on the principle which has extended with but slight interruption even from that day to this, and is one of the factors that has made possible this great nation, a nation that owes more to these two great founders than has been accorded to them.

Dudley and Winthrop from this time worked hand in hand, having their differences from time to time, but always working for the upbuilding of the State. They helped to draft and to enact the laws and, as magistrates, administered them, and in religious matters officiated in the absence of the minister.

The record shows Dudley everywhere active in legislative, social, and in business affairs. In the twenty-three years of his life after coming to Massachusetts Bay Dudley was absent only once from the sittings of the Court and then because there was to come before it a matter affecting himself. He was elected governor four times and when not governor was either deputy governor or a member of the Court of Assistants. Dudley's eldest son married Winthrop's eldest daughter, and again in the third generation Governor Joseph Dudley's daughter, Anne, married John Winthrop, F. R. S., and I believe it to be a fact that every Winthrop living to-day of the name of Winthrop is a descendant of this marriage, and therefore all descended from Thomas Dudley.

In 1643 Dudley was one of a committee to treat with the other colonies about a confederacy. Augustine Jones says: "It has been thought that this confederacy was suggested by those of the Low Countries." The articles were signed on the 19th of May. The

colonies were represented by two persons from each colony, as to-day our States are represented in the Senate by two persons from each State. This confederacy was the prototype of the present United States of America. Winthrop was chosen president at the first session of the commissioners and again in 1645, and Dudley in 1647 and 1649. Thus it appears that either Dudley or Winthrop presided whenever its sessions were held in Boston during their lifetime and that no one else attained to this honor.

Dudley was the first sergeant-major-general of the colony—appointed at a General Court held March, 1644. Whitney's *History of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company* says: "Honorable Thomas Dudley served as major-general four years, being the first; in 1648, Honorable John Endicott succeeded the venerable Dudley, whose son-in-law, Daniel Deunison, was chosen in 1653 and held office ten years, and Governor Joseph Dudley and Paul Dudley, Esquire, sons of the first Governor Dudley, were many years active members of the company."

John Harvard was of Governor Dudley's company, as was also George Phillips, and it was in 1650 that Governor Dudley signed the charter of Harvard College, which to-day hangs on the walls of the college library at Cambridge. For its preservation his son, Governor Joseph Dudley, did active legislative service and after the Revolutionary War the charter was renewed by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

The Rev. Samuel Dudley, Governor Thomas Dudley's son, settled at Exeter, and his daughter Ann, the poet, wife of Governor Simon Bradstreet, at Andover, and as a perpetual reminder that enlightenment was ever a watchword of the Dudleys, to-day we have Phillips Exeter and Phillips Andover academies.

Governor Dudley's grandson, Benjamin Woodbridge, was the first graduate of Harvard College in the class of 1642, in which first class was also graduated George Downing, a nephew of Governor Winthrop, the second graduate to appear on its rolls. For this

American-bred boy, George Downing, the great governmental street of the British Empire was named. Sent to England after his graduation, he was placed in the Foreign Office to be trained in statesmanship. He was the author of the English Ship Bill, for which he was knighted, and by his marriage with one of the Howards, of the Duke of Norfolk's family, inherited land in Whitehall upon which stands the historie Number 10 Downing Street.

The will of Thomas Dudley is written with his own hand and it is preserved and can be seen to-day in the Suffolk Probate Court. It reads:

This is the last will and testament of me, Thomas Dudley, of Roxbury, in New England, made in my perfect health, the six and twentieth day of April, in the Year of our Lord, one thousand six hundred and fifty-three. For my soul, I commend it into the hands of my God, in whom I have believed, whom I have loved, which he has promised to receive in Jesus Christ, my Redeemer and Saviour, with whom I desire ever to be, leaving this testimony behind me for the use and example of my posterity, and any other upon whom it may work, that I have hated and do hate every false way in religion, not only the old idolatry and superstition of popery, which is wearing away, but much more (as being much worse) the new heresies, blasphemies, and errors of late sprung up in our native country of England, and secretly received and fostered more than I wish they were, here.

At his death there was found in his pocket, in his own handwriting, the following lines:

Dim eyes, deaf ears, cold stomach show  
 My dissolution is in view;  
 Eleven times seven near lived have I,  
 And now God calls, I, willing dye,  
 My shuttle's shot, my race is run,  
 My sun is set, my deed is done;  
 My span is measured, my tale is told,  
 My flowers faded and grown old,  
 My life is vanished, shadows fled,  
 My soul's with Christ, my body dead;  
 Farewell, dear wife, children and friends,  
 Hate hersy, make blessed ends,  
 So shall we meet with joy again.

The Rev. Ezekiel Rogers wrote of him:

In books, a prodigal they say  
A living cyclopedia;  
Of histories of church and priest  
A full compendium at least;  
A table-talker, rich in sense,  
And witty without wits pretense;  
An able champion in debate,  
Whose words lack numbers but not weight,  
In character, a critic bold,  
And of that faith both sound and old,  
Both Catholic and Christian, too;  
A soldier trusty, tried and true;  
New England's senate's crowning grace,  
In merit truly as in place;  
Condemned to share the common doom,  
Reposes here in Dudley's Tomb.

Dean Dudley in his history of the Dudley family was not content to use his own beautiful rhetoric in closing a chapter on Thomas Dudley, but quoted the great master, Dudley's contemporary, Shakespeare:

A man that fortune's buffets and rewards,  
Hath taken with equal thanks; and blest is he,  
Whose blood and judgment are so well commingled,  
That he is not a pipe for fortune's finger  
To sound what stop she please. Give me that man  
That is not passion's slave, and I will wear him  
In my heart's core, aye, in my heart of hearts.



HISTORICAL PAMPHLET NUMBER 10.

JOSEPH DUDLEY  
NINTH GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS  
BY  
AUGUSTINE JONES



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GOVERNOR JOSEPH DUDLEY  
SON OF  
GOVERNOR THOMAS DUDLEY

## GOVERNOR JOSEPH DUDLEY.

Joseph Dudley was at one time, Lieutenant Governor of the Isle of Wight, at another time, Governor of Massachusetts, earlier Chief Justice of New York and held other trusts from the crown and colony. He was conspicuous in a colonial revolution, involving the religion and polities of both England and New England, this conflict so disturbed political and sectarian sentiment, that violent partisanship and prejudice are now constantly appearing.

Joseph Dudley was the son of Governor Thomas Dudley, by his second wife, was born in Roxbury, September 23d, 1647. His father died in 1653, at seventy-seven years of age, and had little to do with his son's education. Joseph lived his entire life, except when in England, at his father's homestead in Roxbury, Mass., and died April 2nd, 1720.

He graduated at Harvard, second in his class, in 1665, then studied theology. This was surely an excellent preparation for politics. Hutchinson says that, "if various dignities had been known in the New England churches, possibly he would have lived and died a clergyman; but without this, nothing could be more dissonant from his genius. He soon turned his thoughts to civil affairs; was first a deputy or representative of the town of Roxbury, then an Assistant, then agent for the colony in England, where he laid a foundation for a commission, soon after appointing him president of the council, first for Massachusetts Bay only, but, under Andros, for all New England."

He had been chosen commissioner of the United Colonies, a great distinction in 1677, at thirty years of age, and continued in that office four years, the most notable position in the colony, prototype of our federation of states. He had been in 1675 in the battle of the Narragansetts, and was one of the Massachusetts commissioners, who secured their treaty against King Philip.

Dudley reported this treaty to Governor Leverett, of Massachusetts. It exists in Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, Vol. 11:302.

Upon the decease of Cromwell, the house of Stuart was restored. The non-conformists, who had been a powerful support to the Puritans of Massachusetts were now unable to protect their American brethren, who were left to themselves desolate. Charles II, now began to force Episcopacy upon the non-conformists in England, and the Church of England, also to persecute its former persecutors. This change in England soon manifested itself in Massachusetts, both in religion and trade. An unpleasantness was arising between the throne and the colony. There was in 1682 an effort to revoke the first Massachusetts charter, which Winthrop and Dudley brought over in the Arbella in 1630, because the privileges were too extensive for a colony. It must be changed to a provincee, be directly governed by the throne, surrender its democracy, no longer hinder but make way for Episcopacy, the state religion, which it had hitherto resisted.

We cannot better understand how far the colony had wandered, from the mother country, toward independency, than by considering the record and the facts, which evince that they were for half a century, a law unto themselves. The government of Massachusetts, under Winthrop, Thomas Dudley and their successors had become almost a sovereign commonwealth. It determined without foreign advice the issues of war and peace; it joined in a federation with sister colonies, it exercised the sovereign prerogative of coining money; while without hesitation it taxed its citizens and their estates, it contributed nothing to the treasury of England, it created its own laws, with respectful acknowledgement of their subordination, to the supreme authority of the laws of England, but resisted and disclaimed all rights to appeal to foreign jurisdiction. They asserted that the laws of England had no force beyond her island shores, "compassed by the inviolate sea." The colony had, in its "Body of Liberties," twelve Capital Laws, involving the issues of life and death, and in its "Laws and Liberties," published in 1649, is a statute against rebellion, conspiracy invasion and insur-

rection, in effect including treason, with a death penalty attached to the violation of the law; it raised armies and equipped them, and fortified its ports, and collected tribute of its neighbors; it received agents of France and of Holland, and appointed agents to negotiate with them, and make treaties of peace and consult about alliances for mutual protection, when it felt that its liberties were in peril, from British intervention, it also resorted to a Fabian policy, and to fasting and prayer, and thus retained its First Charter, as a bulwark against British supremacy until 1684, when it was revoked. The progress made, the freedom attained, in the fifty years under the charter, has been a beacon light in the world. No one recognized more thoroughly the intrinsic importance of that instrument than Joseph Dudley. He had been reared under its inspiring influence. His father had been one of the honored founders of it. But he soon learned that the political revolution in the mother country had destined its early repeal. Nothing was now left to the colony, with its head in the lion's mouth, but to secure every possible fragment, for the future of their holy experiment in government.

Rufus Choate has given in vivid words the outline of this body politic. "There was a state without a king or nobles, there was a church without a bishop, there was a people governed by grave magistrates, which it had selected, and by equal laws which it had framed."

The colony received a second charter in 1691, and was changed to a Province, by an edict from the throne. The first charter was only a nominal dependence on the crown and mother country. The second united them inseparably one nation, one people, one absolute undivided government. The Governor, the Lieutenant Governor, and the chief places of the law, militia and revenue were in the disposal of the crown. The Governor had a negative sufficient to preserve the prerogative of the king entire. This charter was the second act, in the drama of the creation of the great republic, the third was the declaration of Independence. Each of these three were vital, in the building of a nation.

The holy seed of Puritan government “of the people, by the people, for the people” was sown in free soil, during the first charter, while under the second in close alliance and protection from the mother state, she grew and developed to maturity, in international strength, wisdom, statesmanship, with power to confront the strongest existing nation, and she did it.

The Province increased in population, it learned the difficult and cruel art of war fighting with English alliance, French and Indian Wars, and her people were trained with preparedness for the revolutionary war, which was to sever them from British protection.

We have heretofore dwelt mostly on the relations of England to the colony, to describe the environment of Dudley’s career. There was a political party in Massachusetts, in 1679, known as the “Moderate Party.” They were loyal to the crown, a peace party anxious to preserve their government, and the charter. John Fiske says, “This was the beginning of the Tory Party in New England, and Joseph Dudley may be considered its founder.”

A Tory in our struggle for independence in 1776: was opposed to resistance to England, was a loyalist, did not believe we were strong enough to win against, one of the most powerful states in the world, loved their homeland.

Many of them retired to Canada, others to England and were the very cream of the population. Some holding the first positions in their new home. There was no hope in rebellion, in Joseph Dudley’s vexed period. Bradstreet, Dudley and others were of the “Moderate Party.”

Dudley and Maj. John Richards were sent to England in 1682, to defend the Charter. Dudley it is said was chosen for that service, because he was not radical, but “Moderate” and able. They returned to Boston in 1683 without success, but convinced that nothing whatever was possible to defend their previous freedom, from abridgment. That the throne was absolutely determined that the colony should conform and be ruled by England. Dudley’s political policy of loyalty to the throne was based on thorough

knowledge of the state of affairs. He was certain that there was only one course open to the colony that was to yield to the will of the English Government. He was right, but he must suffer and be charged with selfish ambition for personal office and emolument, at the cost of his friends, church and community. That he had proven unfaithful in the trust reposed in him. His attitude true and steadfast to conviction from knowledge in the midst of ignorance was heroic, wise and correct, worthy of high commendation. The liberal and advanced portion of the Puritan Church recognized his just and sincere motives in the cause of liberty, and best government in Massachusetts. Brattle Street Church was a wall of defense to him. The wisdom of Dudley was vindicated in the century which followed him and ever since. He left no biography giving his version of events, and critics have made free use of the interpretations of his enemies.

Dudley lost his election as Assistant in 1684, because his mission to England was not approved, but secured it again the next year. He was commissioned by James II, September 27, 1685, president of the Council of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine and Rhode Island, he served nearly seven months with acceptance, in part because the Colony had been threatened with the appointment of a Mr. Kirke with a fierce record, in comparison with whom Dudley was very welcome. Andros a favorite of the home government arrived and displaced him. Dudley was then made a member of the Council, later its president. Edward Randolph was styled "the evil genius" of New England. He aroused the attention of Charles II, in 1676, to the independent tendencies of New England, and their bitter aversion to the Church of England and the Book of Common Prayer.

Andros, Randolph and other antagonists in the charter claimed that the titles to land came to the inhabitants, from the king, who owned all land before the Charter, it passed to the people by it and that when the Charter was vacated, all land reverted back to the king, and everyone must purchase a new title from the king or his agents. Randolph, secretary to Andros fixed his greedy eyes on

the beautiful peninsula of Nahant for a dukedom, and petitioned Andros for it, Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 127:178.

This despotic scheme was defeated, and Dudley was one of its sturdy antagonists. This reveals another side of him, though of the same vigor and spirit of justice, he was ready to resist the king or his agents, with dauntless courage, when duty and equity called him, to the divine choice.

Doubtless as an officer of the king, he was forced to execute laws, which he did not wholly approve, but the responsibility was elsewhere. It is evident that England was inclined to be despotic in ruling America, and by that voracity, forgetful that, we were one nation and one people, she alienated a realm in 1776. What could not be cured had to be endured, until the hour of independence struck, which would not be in Dudley's administration.

One of the autocratic agents of mischief in the colonies was the "Board of Trade" and "Plantations" consisting of a president and seven members, known as the "Lords of Trade." This board began in 1696 and exercised its officious oversight in the affairs of the colonies until near the close of the American Revolution. This august body seemed to regard chiefly the colonies as an auxiliary to the prosperity of Britain.

A native of Massachusetts who served the king righteously, in a nearly rebellious colony was in a situation not unlike that of a Publican who collected taxes for the Roman exchequer, from his compatriots. Nevertheless his service might be, indeed was most patriotic and helpful to the people, who did not always realize the situation, or the reasonableness of his acts.

The Encyclopaedia Britannica informs us, that when Dudley was in England, in 1682 and 1683, to protect the First Charter, he came "there with an eye to his personal advancement, and he secretly advised Charles II, to annul the Charter; this was done, and Dudley by royal appointment, became president of the provisional Council."

This is intended to prove that Dudley was false to his English mission to save the charter. But if the narration were true which

is quite doubtful, he may have been most true to the colony which sent him, if he found on inquiry that the charter was doomed, it might be best for it to be destroyed quickly, and a provincial one substituted. He does not seem to have favored that scheme, when he returned to America, and it is not probable.

Dudley did all that any person could do to save the charter. The destruction of the British Commonwealth was hostile to the interests of New England people and their charter, the restoration of the house of Stuart and the supremacy of the church of England over Puritanism was as truly a revolution in America as in England, Massachusetts was powerless and must conform. She was slow to accept it, but she had lost her great ally and defender.

Dudley soon discovered that although the ancient charter had done a masterly service, it was too independent for a dependent colony. It must have more population and greater resources before it could rebel. Besides France and Spain wanted to capture and annex it. There remained only one course, to accept the terms clinging sincerely to the mother country and conform, and receive protection, learn the art of war with Indians and others. The lost charter was too extensive, as we have seen for a colony. Commerce had for years been weaving England and America into one nation. The colonies were vastly more important to England than in 1630, and they were growing and extending their value and importance constantly. When the colonies were feeble, the mother country did not concern herself much about them, but when their trade was valuable and other nations were enviously desirous to secure them, it was another matter. Then she drew them nearer to herself, and restrained their liberty, which they did not cordially accede to. Present conditions demanded loyalty to the throne. A Province charter and it came and lasted one hundred years, but no administration in New England existed without vexations interference, and finely in 1783 the separation came.

Dudley and the "Moderate Party," with many liberal minded men, early accepted the better course. When he had finished his mission to England, and found the right way, and that nothing

otherwise could be accomplished for the public good, it may have been the right thing, to say to his Majesty not for selfish reasons, "What thou doest do quickly." This may have been patriotic both to the throne and colony without personal graft.

If Dudley's insight and ability inspired confidence in the king and he gave to him offices as Pharaoh in Egypt, did to the other Joseph, which has been approved who shall gainsay his conduct?

The coming at this crisis of the State of the Episcopalianians and the Common Prayer Book were the most heart breaking events to the conservatives, who thought they had one retreat, one foreign spot in the world, all their own to themselves, without danger of being overruled by their antagonists in England. Kings Chapel existed and Dudley was a vestryman in it, and this increased their distress.

The fact that he also communed regularly in the Congregational Church did not save him from reproach, and may have furnished the thought that he was not profoundly attached to either party. They charged him with the infamy of being ambitious, self-seeking. Most men of importance are ambitious, it is the means and method of success. It is the ambition of great, good men to be of service to the world, in all their struggles for preparedness, and Joseph Dudley's career manifests his great altruistic purpose at the foundation.

Dudley greatly cast aside honor, emolument, and like considerations, when he left England in 1702, with a governorship of Massachusetts. His salary was about five hundred pounds, voted annually to keep him humble and dependent. His ambition during thirteen years of French and Indian War must have been chiefly to deliver New England from her enemies and restore peace and prosperity. He had little comfort until the last eight years of administration.

The story of Dudley's advice to the King to annul the first charter is questionable. It has one flaw in it. Dudley was appointed president by James II, May 25th, 1686, and could not have beguiled the virtuous Charles II., three years after Dudley

returned to America. Charles II died February 18th, 1685, nearly one year before the charter was granted.

There is another favorite quotation from Governor Hutchison, who often extoled Dudley, a sweet morsel, for hostile writers, "That he had as many virtues, as can consist with so great a thirst for honor and power." Is it discreditable in a man, who holds responsible positions of service, for his fellowmen to desire the most effective stations for his adventure? This does not seem in him selfish ambition. His life work was for others. A good man said, "Covet earnestly the best gifts."

He believed, and who can doubt it, that he had a mission to guide the colony on its way into its first Provincial year. He was near to the throne, he had wide recognition, great experience, a striking personality, was learned.

If his impelling motive had been self-seeking, he would have stayed in England among his peers. Every notable leader has suffered abuse and ingratitude, often with blazing memorials, when he was gone, and heeded them not.

Cotton Mather, not always friendly to Dudley, said, he is "blessed with rare accomplishments, natural and acquired," which assure him of "the greatness of his soul," and that he, "is beyond all others, advantaged to serve the churches." Which he did not do to please Mather. "And thereby hangs a tale." He might have said generously serve the country" also, this he did do.

Dudley had nine years of waiting and watching in his last visit to England, 1693-1702, and won his way to the highest and best society there. He was heartily welcomed to the Universities, among learned men, politicians and statesmen. No other New England man had achieved such an eminence, at the sources of power in the mother country.

He grew to be at the metropolis, a broader, wiser, more liberal man than the multitude of his fellow citizens in New England, who felt his august presence, as country boys sometimes deride college friends at home, who wear better attire and speak the king's English, and are more gentlemanly.

The government of Andros was over-turned, in 1689, both he and Dudley were retained in prison twenty weeks in Boston, then by the command of the king, sent to England, and both there honored with offices. Dudley was created Chief Justice of New York, May 15th, 1691, but was removed in 1692, because he was not a citizen. Dudley was a member of the council of New York, and was entitled to preside in the administration of that Province, on the death of Governor Sloughter; but being absent in Massachusetts at the time, the chief position was given to another. Does this seem in him ambition? A proceeding that Mr. Dudley did not think it worth while to contend.

As we have already mentioned the news of the English Revolution of 1688, caused an uprising in Boston, as we said in April 1689, a number of restless people were encouraged by the fall of Andros, to take matters in their own hands, in New York also. They found a leader in a German merchant, Jacob Leisler, and another in his son-in-law, Jacob Milborne. They were zealous Protestants, They were in sympathy with the excited people of Massachusetts, in the new government of William and Mary, but their thirst for political and religious freedom, led them into unlawful measures.

Valentine says, the government called a special court of oyer and terminer, before which Leisler and Milborne were brought, about April 1691, on a charge of traitorously levying war against the sovereign and found guilty. "On the 14th of May 1691, the council requested the Governor to carry the sentence into execution, and thus allay the ferment in the public mind, which was every day increasing." The Assembly of New York declared their approbation of the execution, which took place on the 16th of May 1691. The Lord Commissioners, in England reported on the whole matter, March 11th, 1692, "that they were humbly of opinion that Jacob Leisler and Jacob Milborne deceased, were condemned according to law." This did not please the Massachusetts conservatives, and they threw the blame on Dudley, who was not Chief Justice then, as alleged, but later. He only acted in the Coun-

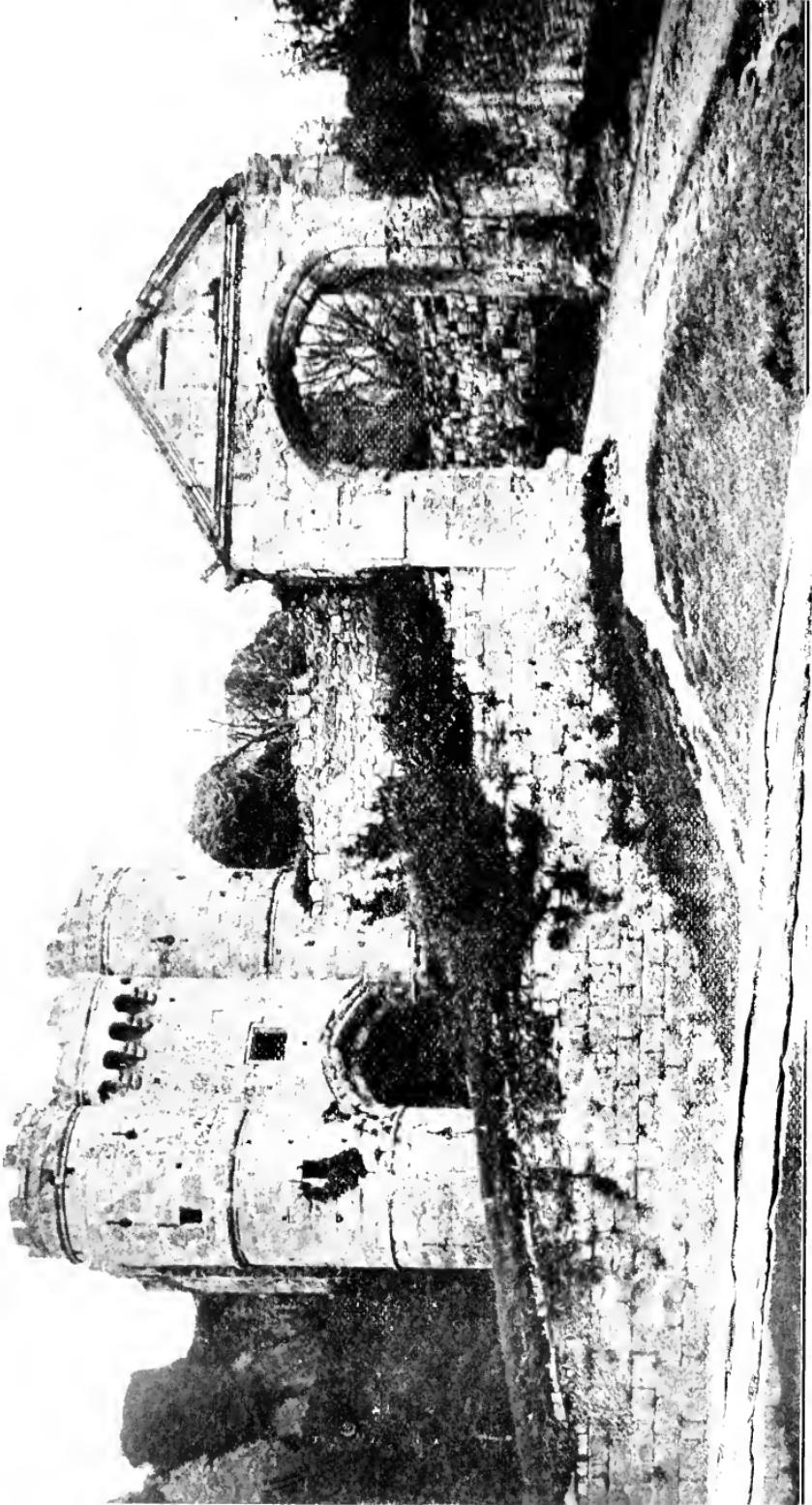
## CARISBROOKE CASTLE

The picture of Carisbrooke Castle, shows the Norman towers, dating from the period of William, the Conqueror, the Keep or Strong-hold of the tower is there. The gateway and wall in the foreground, are structures of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, erected in terror and defense against the Spanish Armada in 1588. This view is the same which daily met the eyes of Governor Joseph Dudley, as he wandered in and out.

King Charles I, took refuge here in 1647, and remained ten months, but soon found it a prison. His children were later prisoners there. The Duke of Gloucester and the princess Elizabeth. She friendless and neglected died here from grief, and was found with her hands clasped, in attitude of prayer, her face resting on an open Bible, her father's last gift. She was fifteen years old.

Queen Victoria erected a lovely monument over the little princess, representing her lying on a mattress, with her cheek resting on the open Bible.

Gov. Joseph Dudley was elected a Free Burgess of the Corporation of Newton, November 29th, 1701, and elected at the same time to sit in Parliament for the Borough, during his last year in England, and his home at the Castle.



CARISBROOKE CASTLE, ISLE OF WIGHT  
THE HOME OF GOV. JOSEPH DUDLEY, IN ENGLAND

cil with others and not in the Court. It had the approval of the Assembly and Lord Commissioners.

The Parliament in 1695, recinded the attainder and restored the property to the children, not reversing the decision. It was an act of commission in the spirit of a subsequent clause in the constitution of the United States. Bancroft's History of the United States appears to be in error in this matter.

Dudley had suffered sufficiently in the Andros affairs in Massachusetts, but his enemies followed him to New York, made common cause with the friends of Leisler, and were mistaken in their opinions of Dudley.

The restraint in the Province charter seemed severe at first to the people, as they emerged from colonial, earlier life and liberty, into the strict reign of British law.

They have our sympathy, but we also have a fellow-feeling for the brave men who discerned afar, the true way of Provincial progress to the ideal republic, and the highest freedom, though their prophetic vision may not have viewed the entire course. No fault attaches to Dudley in the Leisler case.

Dudley returned to England in 1693, his third and last visit, and remained there until 1702, when Queen Anne came to the throne, and appointed him Governor of Massachusetts, he continued in office thirteen years, during her entire reign. Dudley at the termination of his office was nearly three score and ten years of age. The first seven years of his term were stormy, the last eight years of his period, were more acceptable and peaceful, in the magistracy, but the Indian War continued. "All is well that ends well."

Dudley was in England nine years, Lieutenant Governor of the Isle of Wight, from 1694-1702. Major-general Lord John Cutts, was then Governor of the Isle during his period there. He was an illustrious commander in the English Army, at the battles of the Boyne, Namur, Blenheim and numerous others. He was of great influence in England, always of efficient service to Dudley.

Sir Richard Steele, the founder of the British Essayest, and the "father of periodical writing, came to the Isle of Wight as

secretary of Lord Cutts, and he and Dudley were intimate companions five years.

That they were congenial and sympathetic friends is read in their correspondence. Steele is inseparably associated in the history of literature, later in his personal friend Addison. "A man who could command the unswerving loyalty of honest, impulsive Dick Steele, could not have been a coward or a backbiter." Lowell, *My Study Windows*, 429.

Lord Cutts the steadfast friend of Dudley, and the last year his most conspicuous and fond associate, shown by his making him a member of Parliament, for the Borough of Newton, Isle of Wight, by his influence, elected November 29, 1701. The first native born American who ever sat in the British Parliament. The genius and graces of Dudley appear to advantage in the influence and friendships he created abroad, among strangers, where no political or sectarian bigotry, or ignorance in affairs assailed him. We shall find more evidence of this. If he sought fortune or honor, his opportunities were in England, the source and centre of power then. Like Joseph in Egypt he desired earnestly to see his home and his brethren. He had been too long in exile, "My heart is not here."

The knowledge of statecraft and of international affairs, the relation of the mother country to her provinces, the treatment they might expect from her, at this juncture of transition from colonies to provinces were profoundly examined and understood by him, much more truly than in Massachusetts. My life in America will be brim full of suffering, but I must go there. There was a patriotic purpose here.

He had thrown down his glove already to the conservative church at home, by becoming an Episcopalian. It was a bold adventure but, he had to do it, to become a member of Parliament, under the Test Act, and this experience rendered him useful in Massachusetts. The church to a young man was more attractive in England.

Dudley returned to Massachusetts, with a commission, as Governor of Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, and was sworn into office June 13th, 1702, having arrived at Marblehead, on the 11th. The Boston "News Letter," of the day, the only newspaper says, that he was received, "with great respect and affection." His last year in England was his greatest there, in esteem and influence.

Dudley was a trained politician, with too much self respect, to intrigue and logroll for office, though he might be pleased that persons of influence knew, that "Barkis is Willin."

His enemies have presented him, as a self-seeking supplanter, and repeated the charges until they believe them.

Calumny, "Whose breath rides on the posting winds and doth belie all corners of the world." The conservative church was more than half politics. Strong independent men create political enemies, it is the common experience, and does not always mean, by wrong deeds, it may be the hostile mortification at defeated schemes. They followed, feared, and criticised every act.

He was received with ceremonious respect even by his opponents. Winthrop, Cooke, Hutchison, Foster, Addington, Russell, Phillips, Brown, Sargent and others of the council, which imprisoned him in 1689, were of the council on his return in 1702. they avoided the past, but he did not forget. When the names of the councillors, at the first election were presented to him for confirmation, Cooke, Sargent, Oakes, Saffin and Bradford were stricken off, no matter how acceptable to the people. This seems like an arbitrary error. Peace and reconciliation were the policy at that moment. If he thought them still dangerous in his political camp, he might feel forced to such action, but such numerous decapitation seems radical policy. In any event they long remained to torment his administration, and their friends kept them company. Unless we are certain, it is better to trust, wait and watch and make friends than unpardoned enemies in the opening campaign. No person is wise at all times. We all make mistakes, this may have been Dudley's serious oversight, at the beginning. There may have been too great confidence in his power both sides of the sea to control

events, and weld the Province to the mother country, one nation, one people, one king. This was its present destiny with a great future.

Puritanism in 1630, had planted thoroughly the righteous seed of democracy, but the mother country must protect and guide another century. The provinces were always in the covetous eyes of Louis XIV, of France, they were earnestly desired by Spain and were only safe under the maternal wing. Either of those states would have dwarfed their stupendous career. Dudley retained his abiding loyalty to England. The authorities agree that he did his duty in the colonies, with ability, faithfully and strenuously.

King's Chapel in Boston, the first home of the Episcopalians in that town was the source of much social, religious and political controversy. Dudley as we have said was an Episcopalian in England. He joined the Society at King's Chapel when he became governor in 1702, and was an active vestryman. But then and thereafter, all his life, he celebrated the Eucharist at his Congregational Church in Roxbury, in the place and practice of his father. This may not have been acceptable to either party, but he clung to both. His faithful attention to King's Chapel appears in his correspondence, in Perry's History of the Church, 74-108. The modern federation of Churches might be cheered by this example. The good people of King's Chapel often did steadfast service to Dudley, as did Brattle Street Congregational Church, both in political adversity, and in struggles at Harvard College.

A loyal governor, son of the apostle of Puritism was sufficient now in this religious and political revolution, to set both of the Mathers in a towering rage, with the "rancor of theological hatred," and bitter hatred jealousy, as they sat on the throne of surviving Puritanism.

We omit the Mather and Dudley correspondence which is rather pugnacious. Dudley has the best of the conflict in the minds of intelligent critics. Violent words are weak words, especially, when they come from men of repute. The record is in the Massa-

chusetts Hist. Coll., First Series, Volume 111:126-138. Other information on star pages, 30, 66.

The editors have made pertinent remarks as follows:—

“In view of these pamphlets, we may perhaps conclude that the dissimulation was the other way. It looks rather as if Cotton Mather, aspiring to the Presidency of the College, had pretended friendship to Governor Dudley, and concluding that the election would be settled in 1707, he gave vent to his malice by sending to England the manuscript of his first pamphlet.”

President Josiah Quincy of Harvard informs us, that, “The friends of the college and of Dudley did not fail to appear in his defence, and to express publicly their reprobation of the Mathers.” The clergy also took sides on the occasion. The pulpit according to the too frequent custom of the period, was made the organ of crimination and recrimination. “The Mathers preached and prayed about their contest with the Governor.”

Mr. Pemberton resented Cotton Mather’s letter, and said that, “if he were Dudley, he would humble him, though it cost him his head.” Rev. Mr. Colman preached at the lecture in Boston, treated the topics of “Envy and Revenge” in connection with the question whether, “the spirit was truly regenerated or no,” in a manner to be “reckoned that he lashed the Mathers” and their party. History Harvard University Vol. 1: 202, 203.

There was a secession from the principles of the Cambridge Platform in 1698, which resulted in Brattle Square Church, these persons did not adhere so firmly to Calvinism of the first Congregationalists in Boston. The Mathers were conservative and they with others turned from the “School of the Prophets,” at Harvard, to the sound and narrow one, at Yale, with much patronage. Dudley was a staunch friend of Harvard and served it faithfully, and it was always true to him, though it once refused an office to his son. It may be that much of the prejudice against Dudley which has appeared in literature, has come down from side issues which were no part of his essential duties, as Governor, but produced hardness of heart widely distributed in public channels, by wrathful people.

The Mathers were not always enemies to Dudley. Cotton Mather had approved of his appointment as Governor. Such are the mutations of polities and religion. Cotton Mather's great learning and enlightened judgment did not deliver him from the folly and pitfall of witchcraft.

It is a strange coincidence that after the Mather pamphlet of 1707, the next eight years of Dudley's life in office, were the most pacific and agreeable, with only the peril of the French and Indian war, and one more early noted by Governor Hutchinson. "The visible increase of Dudley's substance made some incredible reports of gross bribery and corruption to be very easily received; but in times when party spirit prevails, what will not a Governor's enemies believe however injurious and absurd." Hutchinson had sat as Governor in the same chair and knew how it felt, he continues, "Few men have been pursued by their enemies with greater virulence, and but few have been supported by their friends with greater zeal."

Perhaps no greater service was rendered by Governor Dudley than his bold restoration, of the ancient, rejected first charter of Harvard College, signed by his father as Governor, in 1650. We have noticed that by the crown it was claimed that the First Colonial Charter was only a private Act; giving no power to create charters, that the colonial charter had been vacated, and that all charters created under it were void. The charter of Harvard was of this sort, created by Massachusetts claimed to be void. The granting of charters was a precious prerogative of the sovereign. The colony had several times prayed in vain for another college charter. The King wished in the Charter to vest the visitatorial, judicial, visitational authority or power for his majesty or his agents, to visit and establish any teaching, doctrine or religion desired by the people or not. Thus reserving in the king control over the training of the rising generations.

Dudley with one stroke settled it for Harvard, to his immortal honor. He revived the first, defunct and only charter Harvard ever had. He a bold loyal Governor, taking the bull by the horns.

He created the simple device of a legislative resolve, approved by the Governor, the agent or representative of the king, without asking his majesty, and the deed was done. Why it was never reviewed from England is not known. Sometimes a wise teacher does not see everything.

A Facsimile of the Charter, in the Life and Works of Thomas Dudley. Page 394.

This charter has been approved by the courts and legislation. It was ratified and affirmed in the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780, and rests upon a firm foundation.

The title or inscription of the Resolve is:—

Final resolve of the Provincial Legislature, declaring the College Charter of 1650 not repealed, and directing the President and Fellows of the College to exercise the powers granted by it. Agreed to in Council, December 6th, 1707.

Consented to, J. DUDLEY

President Quincy in the History of Harvard, ranks Dudley, as one of the chief benefactors of the College, "Of all the statesmen, who have been instrumental in promoting the interests of Harvard University, Joseph Dudley was most influential in giving its constitution a permanent character.

History Harvard University, Volume 1: 51.

Jacob Bailey Moore, in "Memoirs of American Governors," 399, relates that "Governor Dudley's administration in New England was popular in New Hampshire \*\*\*" defending his character when it was attacked, praying to the Queen for his continuance in office, when petitions were presented for his removal. A good harmony subsisted between the governor and people, and between the two branches of the legislature, during the whole of his administration. What was the matter with Massachusetts?

The general feeling in his favor was evinced in 1707, when a petition from Massachusetts to the Queen against the governor, was read before the General Assembly in New Hampshire. The Council and Representatives in full assembly nemine contradicente, voted that some of the charges were scandalous, unheard of, and false

reproaches; they drew up an address to the Queen, in which they justified his administration, from these calumnies, and prayed his continuance in the government."

"A prophet is not without honor, save in his own country and in his own house." Massachusetts was at that era notable for intolerance in religion and politics, and Dudley suffered from both. Hutchison says, "He applied himself with the greatest diligence to the business of his station. The affairs of the war, and other parts of his administration were conducted with good judgment. In economy he excelled, both in public and private life." This accounts for his wealth of which some scandalous words were said. Hutchinson was contemporary and wrote with authority.

Bancroft is not always agreeable reading, when he caught the Mather spirit, and with rancor went after the Grave of Joseph Dudley and says "his grave was among strangers." Bancroft found the wrong grave. Mark Twain was more fortunate, he found the grave of Adam, his parent on the first trip. Joseph Dudley was buried in no desert wilderness and forgotten. He has a monumental tomb, in Eustis Street Burying Grounds, Roxbury, Massachusetts, near where he lived all his life. He is not alone, Governor Thomas Dudley, his sons Chief Justice Paul Dudley and his notable son, Colonel William, are in one and the same tomb. The Tomb of his pastor John Eliot beside him, and the graves of his neighbors, on every side, he could scarcely be less lonely.

Governor Dudley an original grantee of Oxford or Dudley, Massachusetts, settled in that town, in 1686, thirty Huguenot families, French Protestants, who had escaped from France, fleeing to other lands, on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

Governor Dudley in 1702, the first year of his administration, visited the eastern frontiers as far as Pemaquid, with his attendants, and confirmed treaties with the dangerous Indians. To keep the peace, he held another conference with them in 1703. The chiefs made many strong promises, to be amicable and friendly. Six weeks after, they attacked all the settlements from Casco to Wells, burning and destroying as they advanced. Governor Dudley

during this awful struggle with savages, appears to have labored with great ability and energy in the prosecution of the war, to protect the colonies, from their bitter enemies. There is a picturesque account of him with the Indians, in the second treaty expedition, at Portland, (Falmouth, Me.). June 20th, 1703.

History Indian Wars, by S. Penhallow, Colonial, New Hampshire Hist. Society, Vol. 1, Page 20: 490. Abbott's History, Me., 256.

J. A. Doyle, a recent writer with all the resources of literature at hand remarks, "That no one can read the pamphlets against Dudley and not trace the hand of Cotton Mather, the hero and centre of the witchcraft delusion. At the same time it was clear, that the attacks on the governor had produced little effect in England." Both parties were too well known there. "To tower over his countrymen, as the representative of English ideas and interests, raised above petty provincial views, seems to have been Dudley's guiding object." The English in American, Vol. 2: 472

Dudley's vindictive abuse admitted some towering vanity, as he thought of the friends he had mingled with in his travels, and also of the people and politics, with religious cleavage, which tormented his body politic.

There were three or more varieties of religious faith then in Massachusetts All political as well. The conservative Puritan, Congregational, Cotton Mather supreme; the more liberal Congregational, Brattle Square Church, Rev. Benjamin Colman, Pastor, and the Episcopalian, King's Chapel. The two last were friendly to Dudley.

A few contemporary testimonies to the merits of Dudley cannot fail to interest us. Much true or false to his discredit has been written and little in defense, though his record warrents it in full.

Arnold in his history of Rhode Island, Volume 1:514, says, "An impartial judge cannot fail to discover among the principal causes which have made Dudley's memory odious, that he inflicted a mortal wound upon the Puritan theocracy." The odiousness in certain prejudiced minds is due rather to their ignorance.

An unprofitable expedition against Port Royal, Nova Scotia in 1707 is always being related against Dudley by his enemies. It is said to have been thwarted by Castin. It was a costly outfit, created discontent in the colony, by increasing paper money and debts. It is doubtless the echo of public sentiment of Boston at the time, which reaches us. It is the fortune of war. It was thought very essential then to capture that fort. Several futile attempts in former administrations had been made, not so carefully reported.

Neither is it so thoughtfully remembered that in three years after this disaster, still under Dudley's rule, six English vessels joined, by thirty from New England, and four New England regiments, in six days appeared before Port Royal, captured it, named it, Annapolis, in honor of Queen Ann, and to this day the British flag waves over it. This ought to be mentioned also to the credit of Dudley, with much more, of his heroic and arduous service, in the French and Indian war, Queen Anne's war.

The Merchants of Boston suffering from depreciated currency in the war, and other causes created a story that Dudley smuggled. There is no evidence of such misdemeanor. J. A. Doyle says, "There is no distinct evidence that Dudley was a corrupt man." His position and excellent character and official responsibility are an answer to this sort of slander, of a public man. Good character is a towering defence, and changes the burden of defense, and proof.

If these persons were honest and had cause, why did not they impeach him before the British Parliament? He was an officer appointed by the throne, and they might have been rid of him, if he were indeed guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors. They were guilty to neglect such duty.

They tried simpler methods to depose him, in vain. Why not the real issue at law, if they had facts to sustain them? It was malicious slander.

Governor Samuel Shute, Esq., who succeeded Dudley, as governor, and knew well his administration, character and trials said of him, "Joseph Dudley by wise men deservedly acknowledged the wisest man that ever was in this country." History King's

Chapel, Boston, 446. The important offices he held during his life, under the British Government, both in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, and in the mother country, attest to his excellent record first and last. He sojourned in England eleven years, receiving greater public respect and confidence to the end. A record which sustained him in New England authority, with his just rule here. It was a time of change and revolution here, war, public distress and fault finding.

John Eliot in his Biog. Dict. 159, an ancient authority says, "Dudley had many friends, however, who considered him a great friend to the churches of New England, as well as excellent governor, among them were president Leverett of Harvard, Mr. Brattle, and Dr. Colman, who were fellows of the College, to which seminary, Governor Dudley ever manifested a very warm attachment

The last years of his administration were more tranquil, and when his interest and ambition were not thwarted by the opposite party, his polite and engaging deportment, his love for his country, his eminent abilities, and very extensive information, made him a very prominent character among the very first men of that generation."

Mr. Eliot says, "he loved his country," he was loyal to the king and prerogative as in duty bound by his obligation, these were each sheet-anchors supreme, holding him to correct official conduct, dictating his interest and the method of his ambition, and his career notwithstanding the violence and malice of his enemies, who were many, as is usual, when men in office seek to do the right thing and are strenuous.

Dr. Colman the most influential man in Boston, after the death of Cotton Mather, more liberal and humane than he, says of Dudley his friend, "I am myself, a witness of the honor and esteem he was in when in England, and his country not a little for his sake among wise and learned men, both at London and at Cambridge. He was then in the prime of life, and shone at the very court and among the philosophers of the age. When I was at Cambridge, England, as soon, and as often as I had occasion to say that I came from New

England, I was eagerly asked if I knew Colonel Dudley (he received the title of Colonel at the Isle of Wight,) "who had lately appeared there with My Lord Cutts, and one and another spoke with such admiration of the man, as the modesty and humility of my country will not allow me to repeat." Dr. Colman preached Dudley's funeral sermon, a very interesting discourse a copy of which is in the Boston Public Library. He also preached Cotton Mather's funeral sermon, and though they were distant, in sentiment, in life, Mather's great merit and influential life received just recognition. Colman was ordained in London 1699, came to Boston the next year. He received a diploma of doctor of divinity, from the University of Glaseow 1731, elected president of Harvard 1724, but declined. He was at the head of the clergy after the death of Cotton Mather. Many of his sermons are in the Boston Public Library. His approval of Dudley is a true light in darkness.

The Boston "News Letter," the only newspaper in Boston for many years, the accepted herald of public sentiment, gave in No. 834, at the time of Dudley's decease, the following comprehensive and brief expression doubtless authorative and just.

"He was a man of rare endowments and shining accomplishments; a singular honor to his country, and in many respects the glory of it. He was early its darling, always its ornament, and in his age its crown. The scholar, the divine, the philosopher, and the lawyer all met in him. He was visibly formed for government; and under his administration by the blessing of Almighty God we enjoyed great quietness, and were safely steered through a long and difficult French war."

Governor Emory Washburn, a learned author, subsequently, professor of Law in Harvard University has given an intelligent and faithful study of the character, and career of Dudley, with a more recent analysis of his work. Jud. History, Massachusetts 119, 120, 283, 326. (1840)

"No native of New England had passed through so many scenes and enjoyed so many public honors and offices as Governor Dudley. Had he remained in private life, he would have been

justly eminent as a philosopher and scholar, a divine or lawyer. He was in fact, to no small extent all these, even amidst the cares and perplexities of public life.

In private life he was amiable, affable and polite, elegant in his manners, and courteous and gentlemanly in his intercourse, with all classes. His person was large, and his countenance open, dignified and intelligent. He had been familiar with the court, and his address and conversation were uncommonly graceful and pleasing. As a judge he was distinguished for gravity, dignity, and on ordinary occasions mildness of manner. As a chief magistrate, none could doubt his capacity to govern, and the prudence with which he managed the affairs of the province disarmed even the opposition of his enemies. \*\* He was justly regarded as an honor to Massachusetts."

In conclusion we may be well assured that his prudent, and successful administration in the transition, from the colony to the province, fearful, long war with France and the Indians, the amicable relations for thirteen years with the mother country in Massachusetts and nine in England, ending with eight years of triumph to himself will hereafter receive an illustrious recognition, which has been withheld from his memorial, by some different writers.



Seal of Gov. Joseph Dudley













